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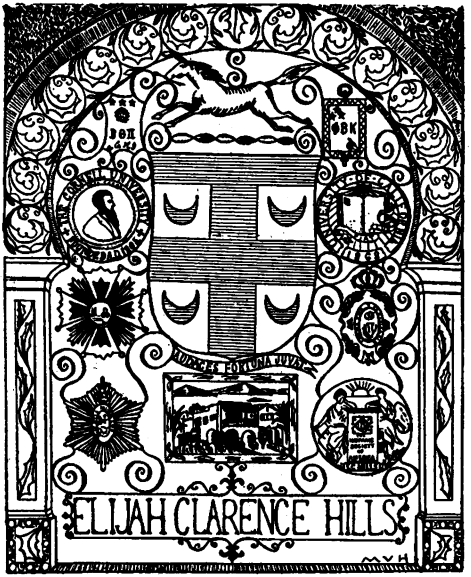

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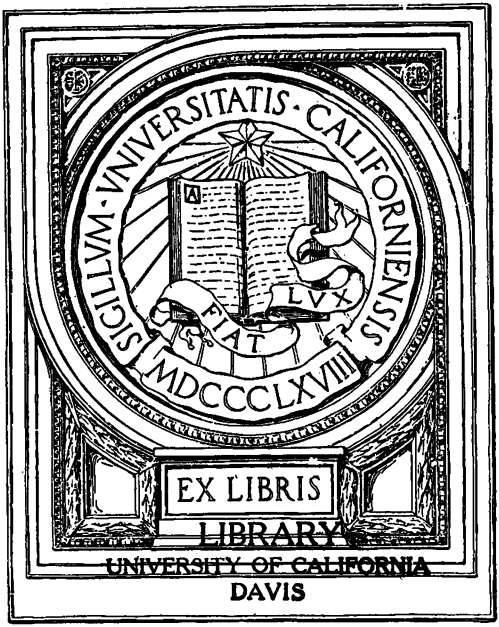
ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS • 1867-1932



ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS was, from 1922 till his death, first a Professor of Spanish and then Professor of Romance Philology at the University of California. A native of Illinois, reared in Florida, he graduated from Cornell in 1892 and studied in Paris; he was successively professor in Rollins College, in Colorado College, librarian of the Hispanic Society of America, and head for romance languages at Indiana University. For his distinguished achievements in Spanish philology, he was made Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Queen Isabel.

In Professor Hills were combined vast and precise learning with extraordinary humanity. Though a grammarian and philologist, his teaching implied the great world. He had a talent for friendship: capable of the seclusions of the scholar and editor and born to an inviolable personal dignity, he possessed also an uncommon social charm which exercised itself in widening circles. His charity showed as kindliness, deference, tolerance, the sharing of the possessions his long labors had accumulated. He was a wise collector of books, and specialized in Spanish lexicons. Mrs. Hills presented to the University of California his collection of books, one of which is here inscribed to his memory.

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HISPANIC
NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

ESSAYS, STUDIES, AND BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES ISSUED BY THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

XI

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LUIS MILAN

and the Vihuelistas

BY

J. B. TREND, M.A.

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	THE COURT OF GERMAINE DE FOIX	1
II.	LIFE OF LUIS MILAN	12
III.	*El Maestro*	20
IV.	TABLATURE	35
V.	FORM AND EXPRESSION	42
VI.	THE *Vihuelistas*	53
VII.	*El Cortesano*	69
VIII.	DRAMATIC REPRESENTATIONS	82
IX.	THE ATTITUDE TO MUSIC	90
	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE	97
	MUSICAL EXAMPLES	101
	INDEX	118

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MUSICAL EXAMPLES

EX.		PAGE
1.	Villancico: *Toda la vida vos amé* — LUIS MILAN	101
2.	Vilhancico portuguez: *Falai miña amor* — LUIS MILAN	103
3.	Pavana — LUIS MILAN	105
4.	Pavana — LUIS MILAN	108
5.	Romance: *Mis arreos son las armas* — LUIS MILAN	109
6.	Coplas de Jorge Manrique — ALONSO DE MUDARRA	111
7.	Romance: *Triste estaba el rey David* — ALONSO DE MUDARRA	113
8.	Romance: *Ay, mi Alhama* — MIGUEL DE FUENLLANA	114
9.	Villancico gallego — ALONSO DE MUDARRA	116

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I

THE COURT OF GERMAINE DE FOIX

COMEDY, it has been said, requires a society of cultivated men and women, wherein ideas are current and the perceptions quick. These conditions supply the comic poet with matter and an audience; 'the semi-barbarism of merely giddy communities, and feverish emotional periods, repel him; and also a state of marked social inequality of the sexes; nor can he whose business is to address the mind be understood where there is not a moderate degree of intellectual activity'.

The conditions of life at Valencia at the beginning of the sixteenth century might be imagined to be repellent to any idea of comedy or of intellectual development, and the inhabitants a collection of 'white-

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faced savages who seem to beckon and move in the fog of the Middle Ages or the deeper night behind'. That this was not so, and that we are aware of the fact beyond a shadow of doubt, is due in a great measure to Don Luis Milan.

This claim may seem extravagant—can a mere courtier and wit, a thoroughly superficial person and a player on the Spanish guitar, have influenced the ways of society, even in a Spanish provincial capital and Mediterranean seaport? Luis Milan, one may think, did something more than leave a record of the manners and conversation of his circle. He represents not only an ideal, but a type—the cultivated man of his time, who realized acutely that the distinction between civilized men and barbarians rested, amongst other things, upon manners and the niceties of social intercourse. His inspiration came from Italy, and more particularly from the ducal court of Urbino; but it would have availed him nothing had not the local conditions been favourable in Valencia.

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As it happened, the conditions of life in Valencia at that time were extremely favourable to the development of many of those customs and qualities which are generally understood to define civilization. Peace, or comparative peace, reigned in the country. The age-long struggle with the Moors had ended, and with it the unnatural emotional appeal of a perpetual holy war to be waged within the Peninsula itself. Valencia, from being part of the kingdom of Aragon, had now been merged in the united kingdom which came into being on the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castille. On the death of Isabella, in 1504, Ferdinand had married as his second wife Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII; and then, on the death of the king, in 1516, this French princess, who had received and maintained the title of Queen, became Vicereine of Valencia, and was married to the Elector of Brandenburg. She was twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old, she had been the consort of one of the most renowned and

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most fortunate monarchs of the age, and she brought to the vice-regal court of Valencia the reputation of being one of the greatest ladies of her time.

The first years of her reign, it is true, were times of danger and difficulty. There was considerable unrest in the country; Turks and Moslem pirates not infrequently landed on the coast, while panics from fear of invasion were still more frequent. It was after one of these alarms in 1519 that plague broke out; and while all who could escaped from the city (it was the month of August), a Franciscan preacher lost no time in ascribing the outbreak to the wrath of God which had fallen upon another Sodom or Gomorrah, his words leading to a *pogrom* of suspected and unpopular persons. The nervous excitement and lack of serenity among the population produced, as not infrequently happens at such times, a lowering of moral standards which was soon reflected in literature.

The *Cuestion de Amor*, published at

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Valencia in 1513, had been a sentimental novel, containing a short, dramatic eclogue in the style of Juan del Enzina. The verses of the *Cancionero de burlas*, however, printed in 1519, threw a more lurid light on human weakness; while the *Comedia llamada Thebayda* (1521), a novel written in the form of the *Celestina* (of which two editions had already appeared at Valencia), had little of the genius of its model and far more of its impropriety.

By 1522, the period of disturbance being at an end, the vice-regal palace became a centre of real civilization and culture. Many of the nobles, who had formerly been scattered in their castles in different parts of the country, had now taken up their residence in the capital, and the court began to wear a very different aspect from that which it had borne under the kings of Aragon.

A picture of the daily life at this time has been preserved in a dramatic entertainment, an artificial comedy, performed before the Queen and the Elector (or the

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Marquis, as he was known in Valencia) in 1524: *Colloquio en el qual se remeda el uso, trato, y platicas, que las damas en Valencia acostumbran hazer, y tener en las visitas que se hazen vnas a otras.* This piece, as the name implies, is a striking picture of the customs of the time; it is nothing less than an imitation of the manners and conversation affected by Valencian ladies when paying a visit. Before the call is made, an emissary is sent to announce the visit; in this case he is a priest, and profits by the occasion to indulge in a mild flirtation with the *dueña*.

Guzmana, as may be imagined from her name, is a Castilian, a lady of uncertain age and considerable presence. Her mistress, however, is a *Valenciana*. She begins to talk to the Chaplain in Castilian, but soon drops into her native Valencian dialect—a form of Catalan; when he has gone, she tries to keep up Castilian with her maid, but perpetually falls back into her mother tongue. She finds all this visiting rather a nuisance:

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Yo no se quina paciencia
basta pera comportar
tant de negre visitar
com ara s'usa en Valencia.
Nunca gent tan importuna
he vist, que no so señora
en ma casa sols vn'ora
d'entendre en cosa nenguna.

* * * *

Guzmana, digaume vos,
non teniu per marauella,
vsas res d'aço en Castella?

'Guzmana (she says, at length), do you really do these things in Castille?'

'I should think not, indeed!' Guzmana replies:

No Iesus, guardenos dios!
Pues ver el retraymiento
con que estan, no es de creer,
su vida, su trato, y ser
es cosa d'encantamiento.

The whole of the Castilian *dueña* is in these words; her looks, her gestures, and the sound of her voice can all be heard in them; and the Señora takes it very ill.

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The dispute (for it becomes that) is dropped after the arrival of Catalina, the other maid. She is of a different temperament; she comes from Granada, and is able to restore harmony by her native good-humour and *sal andaluz*. The mistress's hair is done, the reception-room is arranged before the visitors arrive; and then we see the company enter the room and hear their greetings, followed after an interval by the invariable late-comers.

They chatter, play games, dance, and sing *villancicos*. Don Rodrigo, an elegant young man, who speaks Castilian (it is noteworthy that Castilian is already the language of gentlemen), suggests the newest dance, 'if only we had a band'. Some one offers to play the *vihuela*, and they begin:

RODRIGO.

Quieren, pues ay tañedores,
q̄ andemos vn contrapas?

SEÑORA.

Contrapas? No per sa fe,
que' nell nom se dar maña.

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RODRIGO.
Y en la dança de Alemaña?

SEÑORA.
Exa, si.

RODRIGO
Pues Ioan, tañe.

So they dance an *Almayne* (as it afterwards came to be called in England) and then arrange to sing in turn, a Portuguese who is present being desperately anxious to show off his powers, which he does at last in a song preserved for us in the lute-book of Luis Milan.

So the party goes on, and all with complete naturalness, until an unfortunate episode happens—a stage-effect, rather than the natural consequence of what has gone before; a tiresome person enters with a challenge, and the whole party is involved in the confusion and preliminaries of duelling. However, all ends happily, and the visit is brought to a conclusion.

Conversation and music are regarded as

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the touchstones of civilization; and Juan Fernandez de Heredia, the author of this little piece, the friend and contemporary of Luis Milan, has done his best to show, not without a touch of ironic humour, how both the one and the other were made in his time. (See his 'Obras', Valencia, 1562.)

Yet a more brilliant period for the vice-regal court began in 1525. The Elector of Brandenburg died, and Germaine de Foix was married once more—this time to the Duke of Calabria. The Duke was the son of Don Fadrique of Aragon, King of Naples, who had been dethroned by Ferdinand in 1502. He had been confined for some time in the romantically situated castle of Játiva; but as he had taken care not to become involved in any conspiracy against the government, he was released, and soon became the consort of the Vicereine herself.

With him the court of Valencia attained a degree of international culture which it had never known before. The Vicereine, herself

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a Frenchwoman, had been married already to a Spaniard, and a German; her Italian husband opened the way to influences from the country which was then the most civilized in Europe. Literature, music, the fine arts, and the arts of polite behaviour were all influenced by the Italian humanists; and the essence of their teaching had been distilled in the exquisite dialogues of *Il Cortegiano* of Baldassare Castiglione, admirably translated into Spanish by Boscan in 1534.

It was the task of Luis Milan to set the example of Castiglione to Valencia, and to provide detailed examples of what the conversation and the music of his time were like. He did so in two remarkable books, *El Cortesano* and *El Maestro.*

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II

LIFE OF LUIS MILAN

CONCERNING the life of Don Luis Milan little is known apart from his works. There is no record of his birth or death; and there were several families at Valencia named Milan or Milá. The only document which seems to refer to him is the following entry in the Archivo General del Reino de Valencia, printed by Baron de Alcahalí in '*La Musica en Valencia*' (p. 334).

Dª Violante Eixarch madre D. Juan D. Pedro y D. Luis Milan hijos de don Luis del Milan . . . dice que D. Juan Milan en su testamento ante Auxias Sans instituyo heredero a dicho D. Luis su marido, en cuyo testamento en todo tiempo son nombrados a falta de los hijos que ultimamente falleciesen instituidas,

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destituidos y substituidos, los mas proximos parientes. Por cuya disposicion se muestra que los hijos del dicho D. Luis Milan son llamados al fideicomiso y herencia del citado don Juan del Mila' (*Arch. Gen. del Reino :* M. 2, Veg. cc. 1516, f. 49 y m 18, f. 23).

From this it appears that Luis Milan was the third son of Luis del Milan (who died before 1516) and Violante Eixarch; that he inherited, or should have inherited, something from a relation called Juan Milan, who was possibly his uncle. He would have been born towards the end of the fifteenth century, between 1490 and 1500. It will be noticed that all the members of his family are given the title of Don, which proves them to have been of noble descent.

His first book, the *Libro de motes*, was printed at Valencia in 1535; *El Maestro* was also in the printer's hands in 1535, though not completed until the end of the following year. *El Cortesano* was not printed until 1561, when the principal actors were dead and gone, although much

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of it shows signs of having been written earlier.

A few poems by Luis Milan, an exchange of comic verses, were printed in 'Las obras de don Ioan Fernandez de Heredia assi temporales, como espirituales', published at Valencia in 1562; but nothing is said as to his being dead or alive.

In *La Diana Enamorada* of Gil Polo (1564), an episode in the third book describes how the company visit the river-god of the Turia, who issues from his cave and sings a long poem in praise of the genius of Valencia, in the course of which he mentions Luis Vives, Ausías March, Jaime Roig, Juan Fernandez de Heredia, various members of the Borgia family, and Luis Milan.

A Don Luis Milan [he says] recelo y temo
que no podré alabar como deseo,
que en musica estará en tan alto estremo,
que el mundo le dirá segundo Orpheo:

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tendrá estado famoso, y tan supremo,
en las Heroycas rimas, que no creo
que han poder nombrarsele delante
Cino Pistoya y Guido Cavalcante.

'Heroic' is an odd epithet to use in this connexion; but the mention of Cino da Pistoia and Guido Cavalcanti is interesting, if not altogether convincing, as a comparison.

Fernandez de Heredia had not so high an opinion of Luis Milan's verses; a musician (he said) should not be separated from his instrument (*Obras*, fol. 160, recto):

Si la vihuela oluidays,
y trobays y componeys,
tomays lo que no sabcys
y lo que sabeys dexays:
y ansi señor os perdeys:
Dexaos de trobar en fin,
nos metays mas en tal trance,
qu' vn podenco 's dara alcance,
y pues no sabeys latin,
quiros trobar vn romance.

—especially when he was ignorant of Latin. Palabras son lisonjeras—he quoted the

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line from the romance of Durandarte as set to music by Milan himself—but words must be handled by a real poet. You, on the contrary, have forgotten your playing and begun to make bad verses instead:

Tu tañer desconocido
por mal trobar l' as trocado.
Palabras son lisongeras
de mi creydas de grado.
. . .
Si rogar, y prometer

he quoted again, but continued:)

si lo dexo de glosar,
que no haueys mas de trobar
de trobar ni componer.
Pues que sabeys el tañer.
Mejor que nadi acertalle,
tañed si quereys que calle.

Milan must never make verses any more; his task was to play, for he could do that better than any man living.

Other poems of Fernandez de Heredia, and some of those by Milan himself, imply scandal if they do not express it; they have, however, no biographical significance.

An important clue is, however, provided

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by the dedication of *El Maestro*. The book is *dirigido al muy alto z muy poderoso z inuictissimo prīcipe don Juhan: por la gracia de dios rey de Portugal y de las yslas zc.* This Prince John was John III of Portugal, an eager patron of letters, at whose birth in 1502 Gil Vicente had appeared on the stage in the habit of a shepherd and congratulated the king and queen on so fortunate an event. He reigned from 1521 to 1557 and received the dedications of a great number of books, including the *Cancioneiro de Resende* (1516); also he made the famous poet Sá de Miranda his secretary.

It has been conjectured that Luis Milan visited Portugal; but no evidence is forthcoming, and the musical dictionaries of Vasconcellos and Vieira are silent on the point. King John, however, gave him a pension of seven thousand *cruzados*, in return for the dedication; and Luis Milan's journey to Portugal (if it ever took place) must have been after 1536, when *El Maestro* was published, or he would

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certainly have mentioned the fact in the book itself. He gives the impression that in sending the book to Portugal he has cast his bread upon the waters; but Portugal was 'a sea of music', so much was it appreciated and understood there.

La mar donde he echado este libro es propiamente el reyno de Portugal que es la mar de la musica: pues en el tanto la estiman: y tambien la entienden.

He may have been in Italy, although the six Italian sonnets which he set to music prove no more than his Portuguese *villancicos*. He was certainly familiar with contemporary Italian music and systems of lute-tablature, and it has been conjectured that *El Maestro* was printed with type brought from Venice. His acquaintance with Castiglione's *Cortegiano* was made, as we shall see, through Boscan's Spanish translation.

As far as his musical education is concerned, Milan affirms that he was entirely self-taught:

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Siempre he sido tan inclinado a la musica [he says in the dedication to 'El Maestro'] *que puedo afirmar y dezir: que nunca tuue otro maestro sino a ella misma. La qual ha tuuido tanta fuerça comigo, para que fuesse suyo: como yo he tenido grado della para que fuesse mia. Y siguiendo mi inclinacion, heme hallado vn libro hecho de muchas obras: que de la vihuela tenia sacadas y escritas.*

It may be said, then, that Don Luis Milan was born about 1500 and died after 1561; that he was a favourite at the court of Germaine de Foix and the Duke of Calabria at Valencia; that he earned some reputation as a poet, but still more as a musician and performer on the *vihuela*; that his compositions were dedicated to John III of Portugal, from whom he received a pension; and that he was an eager student of Italian culture, though there is no evidence to show that he ever visited Italy himself.

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III

EL MAESTRO

THE first of the three books published by Don Luis Milan need not detain us long. It is no more than a book of parlour games, or rather the directions for playing a certain parlour game, 'Mottos and forfeits', which was obviously much in vogue at the time in Valencia.

The only known copy, in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, had this title:

Libro de motes de damas y caualleros: Intitulado el juego de mãdar. Cõpuesto por don Luys Milan. Dirigido a las damas.

The colophon is as follows:

Fue impressa la presente obra en la Metropolitana ciudad de Valencia por Francisco Diaz, romano, en el año de Mil

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y D. y xxv a xxviij dias del mes de Octubre.

The manner of playing the game is set out in the introduction, with all the seriousness of a modern treatise on Auction Bridge or Mah Jongg. The *caballero* presented the book, closed, to the *dama* and invited her to open it. On opposite pages were found pictures of a lady and a gentleman with a motto in three or four lines of verse beneath each. The lady's motto was read out to the *caballero;* it was a command, which had to be answered or obeyed, as laid down in the second motto. If the *caballero* failed to do so—and some of the commands were severe and many were ridiculous—he was condemned by the ladies to such forfeits as they were pleased to approve, or leave the room. Then the book was passed to another; and the process was repeated 'until the ladies ordered the game to cease'.

As examples of this delightfully childish game, two or three of the *motes* may be

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quoted at random. The lady opens the book, and reads:

Meteos a la ventana
hasta que seays llamado
o saludado.

(Go over to the window until you are called or saluted—with a kiss?) Her partner must answer:

Yo yre con condicion
que si no soy saludado
sea yo de vos llamado.

(I'll go on condition that if you won't kiss me, at any rate you'll call me.)

Or again, the lady reads:

En el suelo arrodillado
soplicad a vna dama
que os mande meter en fama
de muy enamorado.

(Kneel down on the floor and ask a lady to order you to publish that you are very much in love.)

The answer must be:

Agora por dios eterno
veo mi trabaxo en vano

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pues que siendo vn verano
me tienen por vn inuierno.

(God knows my labour will be in vain: for though I burn like summer, they take me for a winter.)

Sometimes the *motes* have a little more malice:

Buscareys por estas damas
y si Aldonza hay direys
vos sabeys a que sabeys.

And the answer is:

Aldonza sabe
solo ella a lo que sabe
que quien quiere gustar della
gustara solo en vella
lo que en ella nunca cabe.

By the time this book was published (in October 1535) and in the hands of the ladies to whom it was dedicated, another and more important work of Luis Milan was in the hands of the printer. This was his collection of lute-music, *El Maestro*, one of the most important works of its

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kind of the first half of the sixteenth century. Its full title is:

Libro de Musica de vihuela de mano. Intitulado El Maestro. El qual trahe el mesmo estilo y orden que vn maestro traheria con vn discipulo principiante: mostrandole ordenadamente desde los principios toda cosa que podria ignorar, para entender la presente obra. Compuesto por don Luys Milan. Dirigido al muy alto ẏ muy poderoso ẏ inuictissimo prĩcipe don Juhan: por la gracia de dios rey de Portugal y de las yslas ẏc.

Año. M. D. XXXV.

The colophon is as follows:

Fue impresso el presente libro de musica de Vihuela de mano intitulado el Maestro: por Francisco Diaz Romano. En la Metropolitana y Coronada Ciudad de Valencia. Acabose a iiij dias del mes de Deziẽbre Año de nuestra reparacion de Mil y quinientos treynta y seys.

It will be seen that the two dates differ. It is possible that the book took more

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than a year to print (it is beautifully executed, in black letter); and it will also be noticed that the printer, who was also responsible for the *Libro de motes*, describes himself as a Roman.

No lute music is known to have been printed in Rome as early as this; indeed, the only lute-books in existence seem to have been those of Spinaccino (1507), Dalza (1508), and Franciscus Bossinensis (1509), all printed by Petrucci at Venice; the German tablature-books of Schlick (1512), Judenkünig (1523), Hans Gerle (1532). and Neusidler (1536); the 'Introduction' and 'Epithoma' of Oronce Finé (1529 and 1530) and the 'eighteen basses dances' published by Attaignant at Paris in 1529.

The instrument for which Luis Milan wrote was not, strictly speaking, a lute at all; in fact, it might be said that there never were any Spanish lutenists. The real lute was an instrument shaped like half a pear (cut lengthways) with a long stalk. The Spanish *vihuela* looked like a guitar; it had a flat back and a com-

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paratively short neck, though the head with the pegs was bent backwards at an angle of about 135°. The wood-cut given in Amat's *Guitarra española y vandola en dos maneras de guitarra castellana y cathalana* (Barcelona, 1585) shows this clearly. Bermudo, in his *Declaracio̅ de Instrumentos* (Osuna, 1544), distinguishes carefully between the various instruments of this family which were known to him. In all other parts of Europe the familiar instrument was the lute; for nearly a hundred and fifty years it held the position occupied by the modern pianoforte, and was, in spite of its difficulty, the domestic instrument (or the chief domestic instrument) and the one for which other music of all sorts was arranged. Bermudo calls this 'vihuela de Flandes' (fol. xcvi, *recto*); and in Spain it was only played by foreign visitors.

The ancestor of these instruments, as far as Spain was concerned, was an Arab instrument, *al 'ūd*, from which the word 'lute' is derived. The Archpriest of Hita,

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who wrote in the time of Chaucer, has many references in his poems to music and musical instruments, both Christian and Muhammedan; he was even careful to specify which instruments were unsuitable for accompanying Arab singing. He mentions three kinds of *vihuela*: the *vihuela de pendola* (i. e. played with a plectrum, like the modern mandoline), *vihuela de arco* (played with a bow), and *vihuela de mano* (played with the fingers); and, besides these, he refers to the *guitarra morisca*, *guitarra latina*, and *laud*.

Milan's instrument, then, was the *vihuela de mano*, something between a lute and a guitar. It had six strings (or, rather, five double strings and one single one), which were usually tuned at intervals of a fourth, with a major third between the third and fourth strings:

Vihuela
(16th cent.).

Guitar
(19th and 20th cent.).

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This tuning is so like that of the modern guitar that, in order to play the music of the old *vihuelistas* on the modern instrument, all that is necessary is (*a*) to transpose the guitar up a minor third, which is frequently done by modern players, and easily accomplished by means of a *cejuela* (or *capotasto*) fastened round the neck of the instrument at the level of the third fret; and (*b*) to lower the third string a semi-tone.

The late Dr. Chilesotti used to play old Italian lute-music in this way to friends who visited him at Belluno.

Juan Bermudo (whose description of the instruments of his time has already been mentioned) added a seventh string to the vihuela, and for this instrument he wrote a fine setting of the *romance*, 'Mira Nero de Tarpeya', which Sempronio sings to his master in the *Celestina*. The six-stringed instrument was the popular one, however, and it was generally for this that the works of the Spanish *vihuelistas* of the sixteenth century were written.

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The *vihuela* was always the instrument of elegant and aristocratic society. The popular instrument, on the other hand, even in the time of Luis Milan, was the guitar. It had at first only four strings, tuned like the four inner ones of the *vihuela*, and Nasarre, writing nearly two hundred years afterwards, affirmed that the two instruments could be converted one into the other, by adding the top and bottom strings or taking them away.

The guitar was called 'Spanish' when it regularly began to be made with five strings. The fifth string was the highest; the sixth (lowest) string seems only to have been added after 1800, and in Germany. The first to add the fifth string, the 'inventor' of the Spanish guitar, was for long believed to be Vicente Espinel, author of the picaresque novel, *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregon*, which Lesage rewrote as the *Histoire de Gil Blas*. The chief authority for attributing this invention to him is Lope de Vega, on the strength of a passage in his *Dorotea*

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(Act 1, Sc. 7): 'May he be forgiven (says Gerarda), that Espinel! He has brought us those new verses, *decimas* or *espinelas*, and the five strings of the guitar; so that every one is forgetting the noble instruments as well as the good old dances, what with these wild gesticulations and lascivious movements of the Chaconne, which are so offensive to the soberness and chastity and seemly silence of ladies!' *Perdoneselo Dios a Vicente Espinel que nos truxo esta nouedad y las cinco cuerdas de la guitarra, con que ya se van oluidando los instrumentos nobles, como las danças antiguas, con estas acciones gesticulares y mouimientos lasciuos de las chaconas, en tanta ofensa de la virtud, de la castidad y el decoroso silencio de las damas*). His statement is borne out by Doisi de Velasco (1640) and Gaspar Sanz (1684) in their treatises on the Spanish guitar.

Against Espinel is the fact that eleven years before his birth, Bermudo, writing in 1544, speaks of a guitar with five strings. Espinel, therefore, if not the inventor of

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the Spanish guitar, may have been the man who made it a popular instrument in the upper as well as the lower classes. Fuenllana, in his lute-book, *Orphenica Lyra*, published in 1554, has several pieces written definitely for the guitar and not the *vihuela*; and by the end of the century, as contrapuntal music went out, the Spanish guitar came in. Not that it was —or is—incapable of contrapuntal effects. Fuenllana's guitar-accompaniment to the *romance*, 'Ay de mi, Alhama' (Ex. 6), is one of the best things in all sixteenth-century Spanish music; and a good modern guitar-player, by altering the tuning of his instrument as already described, can play the most complicated fantasias of the *vihuelistas* in a way that proves that these are not all mere impersonal, academic exercises, but real pieces of music, which only have to be played with sympathy and understanding to make them live again.

Luis Milan and the earlier lutenists thought entirely in terms of counterpoint,

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and not in terms of harmony. They regarded music as made by a number of voices moving horizontally; they did not think of it vertically as a succession of chords. Viols and wind-instruments could take the place of voices (as indeed they frequently did) and make music in the same way; they could play all the notes sung by the voices, and hold them for as long as the voices themselves. The early organs could do the same thing; but the virginals and clavichord, through their inability to sustain a note after it had been struck, were suggesting rather than copying the effect of voices singing together.

This was one of the beginnings of the instrumental style in music as distinct from vocal style, and in this differentiation the lute, *vihuela*, and guitar led the way. They could not even play all the notes sung by voices, much less sustain them, and thus, when a composition for voices was transferred to the lute, it was not reproduced, but only suggested. It was possible to sound two or even three notes

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on the lute at exactly the same instant, and chords of four, five, or six notes could be played, in which all the notes sounded together, although the lower ones were actually struck a fraction of a second before the upper ones. A succession of big chords, however, became monotonous to hear and tiring to play; when contrapuntal music was transferred to the lute, it was found that the effect could be produced by sounding only the most significant notes, those which were sounded by voices at the same instant, and, of course, only those which the anatomy of the human hand made it possible to finger at the same moment.

Lute-music, then, is in some respects a fake. It suggests effects which it does not really produce. The earlier lute-music had no sense and no logic without a memory of three or four voices singing together; the discords familiar in the cadences of choral music of the time (e. g. the 'suspended seventh' and 'suspended fourth') were not actually played,

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they were only suggested; the discord, carefully prepared and resolved, did not really exist except in the hearer's imagination, the actual discordant note—'the Hamlet of the plot', as Hubert Parry expressed it—had generally to be left out.

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IV

TABLATURE

LUIS MILAN, like all other composers who wrote for the vihuela, lute, guitar, citterne, lyra-viol, and other instruments of the kind—like many sixteenth-century composers for the organ and keyed instruments, and like the authors of certain methods for wind instruments—used a system of notation known as *tablature*.

All musical notation (Dr. Vaughan Williams once said) is a code of signals; it tells the performer when and how he is to blow, scrape, or pluck his instrument, so as to produce the effect which the composer had in mind. Tablature is most easily defined by saying that it is a code which tells a man not what note he is to think of, but where he is to put his fingers. The ordinary staff notation, and tonic

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sol-fa notation as well, depends on a sense of pitch. They are ultimately notations for singing; that is, they depend on a man's capability of imagining the pitch at which he would sing a certain note, and judging the distance he will have to move his voice up or down to hit the next note.

Tablature is a purely mechanical code of signals; once the instrument is in tune, the player has only to put his fingers down and take them up again as the signals tell him, and the music, thought out by the composer, will be reproduced. There have been many kinds of tablature in use at different times; tablature is still used in Spain for guitar-music, and at Naples for the mandoline, while modern music for the violin and violoncello uses a system of tablature to express harmonics and *scordature.*

With one exception, the system employed by Luis Milan and the Spanish *vihuelistas* was as follows. A page of their music looks like a collection of musical staves, with the lines far apart and numbers

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on them instead of notes. The lines of the 'stave' in lute-music do not represent notes, but the strings of the instrument; the figures show the positions of the fingers on the strings.

With Luis Milan, the top line is the top string. In the other Spanish *vihuelistas*, however, and with the Italian lutenists, the order is reversed; the top line of the tablature is the bottom string of the instrument—the bottom line, the top string. The numerals (or in the French and English systems, letters) written on the lines refer to the 'frets' (*trastes*): '1' is the first fret, and in most cases the first finger, '3' the third fret, and so on. '0' signifies the 'open' string, played without being touched by the finger at all.

As in the modern guitar, the frets of the *vihuela* were placed a semi-tone apart—that is to say, the note produced by putting the finger on the second fret was half a tone above the note made by the finger on the first fret.

Milan and his followers expressed the

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length of the notes they intended by semi-breves, minims, crotchets, &c., placed above the tablature; the time-signatures (or, properly speaking, the signs expressing 'proportion') were those usual at the time.

The interest and value of lute tablature lies in the fact that in the sixteenth century it was the most accurate form of musical notation in existence. The vocal music of the time, both secular and sacred, was written in separate parts; each voice, and sometimes each singer, had either a separate part-book to sing from, or else (as in the case of the immense choir-books which stood on a revolving lectern—the *facistol* of Spanish cathedrals) had to keep his eyes fixed on a particular corner of the page. The music in tablature, on the contrary, is printed in score; all the parts may be read together.

Again, in sixteenth-century vocal music, the accidentals were generally left to the discretion of the singers, who supplied them according to certain conventions, well known to every musician at a particular

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time, but changing as the years went by. In music printed in tablature there is seldom any question about an accidental; the note that would be produced by putting down the finger in the place indicated is the right note; whether it is a flat or a sharp is not shown by any special sign, but by different number, since it would be played on a different fret and with a different finger from the natural note.

It will be seen, then, that music preserved in lute tablature is (or should be) a more accurate record of what the composer intended, and how his composition sounded, than is to be found in the part-books of vocal music. The *vihuelistas* who followed Luis Milan transcribed a number of madrigals and church compositions for their instrument; and from these transcriptions can be seen which notes underwent 'chromatic alteration' and where the sharps and flats went, even if the actual run of the individual parts is not always easy to determine.

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These facts are of great importance in musical history. During the sixteenth century there was a gradual transition from the ancient modes to the modern major and minor. The transformation of the older tonalities towards the firmer tonality of succeeding centuries was largely determined by the music written for the lute, the melodic quality of which began to make the chord an essential element of musical construction. In other words, in lute-music can be seen the beginnings of an entirely new view of music. Hitherto (as was pointed out in the last chapter) it had been regarded entirely horizontally as a collection of strands of melody running side by side; now, however, it began to be considered vertically, as a succession of chords.

The older tonalities lost their modal character through 'chromatic alteration' —through the introduction of sharps and flats which were foreign to the mode. In the music of the lutenists this change can be seen actually taking place.

XI HISPANIC NOTES

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Yet the lute, if it could only remind people of effects they had heard in choral music, could produce other, new effects of which a choir of voices was incapable. The rules of counterpoint were the rules of singing: intervals which were forbidden, were forbidden because they did not sound well with voices or were difficult to sing. 'Consecutive fifths', for instance, sound heavy and monotonous with voices, but on the lute they are in no way remarkable and of common occurrence.

The importance of lute-music depends upon the fact—which has already been emphasized—that the players and composers could no longer regard music horizontally, as melodies running concurrently, but as a succession of chords; and the use of chords to support and punctuate the declamation of a solo voice was one of the principles of the 'new music' which came in about 1600.

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V

FORM AND EXPRESSION

LUIS MILAN intended his *Maestro* to be a book of instruction for those who had no knowledge of the *vihuela*. He expected a knowledge of the rudiments of music, however, and, above all, of the rudiments of singing. He probably held, with the medieval theorist, that music, in essence, was the art of singing: *Musica est ars cantandi*; and he expected that those who used *El Maestro* should know, from having sung, how to keep time.

La intẽcion deste presente libro (he writes) *es mostrar musica de vihuela de mano a vn principiãte q̃ nunca huuiesse tañido; . . .q̃ primeramẽte aprenda de canto de organo: hasta que sepa cantando entender como se ha de traer el compas y mesura.*

'Compas' he defines as a raising and

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lowering of the hand or foot at equal intervals of time; in other words, the beat. *El cõpas en la musica no es otra cosa porq̃ sepays, sino vn alçar y abaxar la mano o pie por vn ygual tiempo.* 'Mesura' was concerned with the value and duration of notes, the proportion of one to another, a thing easier to observe in practice than to explain in theory. As the system adopted by Luis Milan in no way differed from that used in his time, there is no need to go into it here. A full and practical explanation will be found in the text-books, particularly in *Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century*, by R. O. Morris (Clarendon Press).

Luis Milan then goes on to give directions for tuning the *vihuela*. As a rough and ready rule, he advises tuning the first (i. e. the highest) string as high as it would go, and tuning the other strings down from that. The first string (*prima*) had, of course, to be adapted to the size of the instrument; a thick string for a big *vihuela*, a thinner string when the instru-

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ment was a small one. The intervals for tuning down from the first string are those given in the diagram on p. 27. When the instrument was roughly tuned (*templada*) in this manner, it was tuned accurately (*affinada*) by seeing whether unisons or octaves were in tune. 'Put your finger [he says] on the fifth fret of the second string, and pluck it to see whether the note is in tune with the first string.' Or again, the finger might be put on the third fret of the second string, and the string plucked to see whether the note so produced (F) was in tune with the fourth string, which would sound the octave below. If the unison or the octave were not perfect, the string might be slightly screwed up, or the 'fret' itself might be moved: for the frets of the *vihuela* were not definitely fixed, as they are on the modern guitar or mandoline, but were made, as a rule, by pieces of thin lute-string bound tightly round the neck of the *vihuela* at intervals a semitone apart.

The music begins with simple *fantasías*,

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suited to the fingers of a beginner; *musica facil y conform a alas manos que vn principiante puede tener*—pieces in which a short theme is treated contrapuntally for a few measures and then dropped for another. After the first *fantasías* come six more *fantasías*, which in form and melody are like Italian pavanes of the time (*paresce en su ayre y cõpostura a las mesmas* pauanas *q̄ en Ytalia se tañen*). Two of them are arrangements of actual Italian dances, the other four are by Milan himself. All have careful directions as to the pace at which they should be played.

An example of one of these pavanes will be found in the *Oxford History of Music* (vol. iii, pp. 17–18); two more are quoted at the end of this book (Ex. 3 and 4).

The most interesting part of *El Maestro*, however, is that which deals with vocal music. As before, the music is still written in tablature—in figures, not staff notation—but the voice-part is distinguished from the lute-part by the figures being printed in red, a happy thought

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which was followed by most of the Spanish *vihuelistas*. First (the author says) the song is played over on the *vihuela*, as it stands; and then, when the player hears how it goes, he plays it again singing the notes represented by red figures. (*Sabido biẽ de tañer: seguireys las cifras coloradas mirando q̄ cuerda de la vihuela tocan y aquella cantareys.*) From this it is not clear whether the notes which were sung were also played on the *vihuela* at the same time. Morphy and most other researchers have assumed that they were, and no doubt the voice-part was played for singers who were not very certain of their notes. It would, however, have been a positive insult to a good singer to play his part for him on an instrument; and as the tune of a song is always better known than the accompaniment, it is more reasonable to suppose that the voice-part was not played on the *vihuela*, unless the composer specially stated that it was to be played as well as sung. Some of the later *vihuelistas* and English lutenists (at the

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end of the century and the beginning of the next) wrote the voice-part in ordinary musical notation, with the lute tablature underneath; and, with them, the voice-part is as a rule independent of the accompaniment, or only has a note to support it here and there.

The vocal music in the *Maestro* of Luis Milan consists entirely of solo songs—a voice accompanied by the *vihuela*; they are among the earliest examples in the history of music. The words are taken from Spanish or Portuguese *villancicos*, Spanish *romances*, and Italian sonnets.

The *villancicos* are all on the same traditional plan, which will be made clear by examples.

Aquel cauallero madre — 1st strain. ('Estribillo'.)
que de mi se enamoro
pena el y muero yo.

Madre aquel cauallero — 'Vuelta'.
q̄ va herido d' amores
Tãbien siento sus dolores
porq̄ dellas mismas muero.

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1st strain repeated.

Su amor tan verdadero
merece que diga yo
pena el y muera yo.

. . .

Sospiro vna señora
q̄ yo vi
oxalla fuesse por mi.

Sospira vna señora
Ye me dado antender *
que sospira por tener
gran pesar de quiē lo llora.

* y me ha dado a entender.

Ya yo se ques burladora
y aunq̄ assi
oxalla fuesse por mi.

. . .

The latter is printed with a different *vuelta* in the works of Juan Fernandez de Heredia (fol. 99), who may have been the author of other *villancicos* set by Luis Milan.

Among the *villancicos* in Portuguese are the following (the original spelling of Luis Milan being followed as before):

Leuayme amor daquesta terra
que nõ fare mas vida en ella.

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Leuayme amor al ysla perdida
leuayme cõ vos poys soys miñya vida.
Quel corpo sin alma nan viue en la terra.
q̄ nõ fare mas vida en ella.

. . .

Falai miña amor falaime
sino me fallays matayme.
Falai miña amor
que os faço saber
si no me falays
que nao teño ser.

Pois teneys poder falaime
Sino me falays matayme.

. . .

The Portuguese *villancicos* are, as will be seen, particularly attractive, and interesting, too, from their approach to the 'parallelistic' form and from the dactylic rhythm (rhythm of the Galician bagpipes), *ritmo de gaita gallega*, which seems to be at the back of the first, and comes boldly forward in the *vuelta* of the second.

Luis Milan set all these poems to music on the same principle: the tune used for

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the first stanza was practically repeated, in a shortened and modified form, for the *vuelta*; the third stanza repeated the music of the first. He explains it thus:

La letra haueys de leer desta manera. El primero verso leereys hasta la fin del villancico: y tras esto viene la buelta: y leereys sus dos versos: y boluereys al prĩcipio y acabareys cõ el verso que quedaua para leer.

His settings of one Spanish and one Portuguese *villancico* are given in Examples 1 and 2. In the first there is an alternative and more florid setting of the whole poem, which has been printed here to the repetition of the first strain.

El Maestro also contains some settings of *romances*. They are much reduced in length, and are generally arranged in the form of a dialogue, as is seen in Milan's setting of 'Durandarte', which has often been quoted. His method was to arrange it in a shortened form, but to treat his arrangement as a continuous piece of

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music, which goes on from the beginning to the end, with no real repetition. 'Durandarte' is, indeed, a very well-planned song, with a striking change of key in the middle, at the words *Palabras son lisonjeras.*

Romances are directed to be sung in a broad, open manner (*cõ sonancia y espacio*) and not too fast. The quick instrumental passages (*redobles*), when the voice leaves off, are to be taken very quickly. The first and second parts were each sung twice over.

In some cases, however, the singer is instructed *hacer garganta*, which is taken to mean the method of voice-production affected by modern singers of *Cante hondo* or *Cante andaluz* in the south of Spain.

As the musical setting of a whole *romance* would occupy too many of the small pages of this book, a single passage has been quoted from another *romance* found in *El Maestro*, the famous words:

Mis arreos son las armas
mi descanso es pelear

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which Don Quixote quoted to the innkeeper, and which the innkeeper (who knew the *romance* well) took up and applied to Don Quixote himself.

The few measures quoted from Milan's music (Ex. 5) will show the variety of artifice he employed to accompany the words: simple chords, passages in imitation on the lines of the composers of polyphonic vocal music, together with rapid, brilliant passages, which generally come at a full stop in the verse. Luis Milan has, indeed, a real instrumental style, and though he still approaches music from the standpoint of the composers of unaccompanied vocal music, the limitations of his instrument in the direction of contrapuntal effects and its advantages for rapid scale-passages have led him to write music more in keeping with the genius and capabilities of the *vihuela* than many of his followers.

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VI

THE *VIHUELISTAS*

LUIS MILAN is sometimes dismissed as a mere court-musician, by those whose only interest in musical history lies in the illustrations it provides for the study of folk-lore. Milan certainly played and wrote for a small provincial court, but his music is no more courtly or complicated than that written by any of the other *vihuelistas*. The majority of the Spanish people is neither *naïf* nor simple, either in its art or its life, and the most unlettered singer will always introduce into his performance all the complication and refinement of which he is capable. The same applies to modern uneducated guitar-players; and it applied equally to the *vihuelistas*, even to those who were not so definitely writing for a court circle, as was Luis Milan. The tune

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he used for the *romance* of 'Durandarte' is the same as that arranged for three voices in the *Cancionero musical* (edited by Barbieri), which dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century; it is, therefore, likely to be the traditional melody to which the *romance* was sung.

The *Maestro* of Luis Milan is the first of numerous books of music for the *vihuela* which were published in Spain in the course of the sixteenth century. It was followed, two years later (in 1538), by *Los seys libros del Delphin de musica*, by LUIS DE NARVAEZ, printed at Valladolid. Narvaez, like Milan, has a definitely instrumental style, which is well shown in his brilliant setting of a *romance* beginning:

Ya se asienta el rey Ramiro,
ya se asienta a su yantar,

He also introduced a new principle into Spanish lute-music, that of variation or *diferencias*. The earliest pieces of music which show an attempt at variation are two English compositions, 'My Lady

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Carey's Dompe' and a 'Hornpipe' by Hugh Aston, which are found in a MS. in the British Museum (Royal MSS., App. 38) dating from the beginning of the century.

In Spain the variation-form seems to have arisen through the necessity of varying the accompaniment during the singing of a long *romance*; the volume of 'Hispanic Notes and Monographs' dealing with the music of Spanish history gives examples of how the accompaniment to the famous *romance* of 'Conde Claros' was varied.

Narvaez gives 22 *diferencias* to this tune, Mudarra 12, Pisador 37, Venegas 5, and Enriquez 120. Narvaez, however, has another manner of treating *diferencias*, which arose from the first: that is, to treat them as purely instrumental variations. A scholarly Spanish musician, the late Cecilio de Roda, pointed out that the variations on *villancicos* are still fully in the style of the period; they are little more than counterpoints written to the voice-part. But in the *diferencias* on the *romances* and those which seem to be purely instru-

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mental the method is different. The variations are not so much contrapuntal as harmonic; the chord seems to be the fundamental element, and they are built on a bass which is repeated implicitly or explicitly throughout the composition. The most popular tune for instrumental variation was 'Guardame las vacas', which became a favourite dance in the sixteenth century, and is found in *glosas* and variations for the organ for a century after that.

The works of Narvaez are being reprinted in an admirable modern edition by D. Eduardo M. Torner, and published by the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios*, of Madrid. The original tablature is printed below a transcription into modern notation for the pianoforte, so that the edition provides both the composer's original text and a translation playable at once on a modern instrument.

ALONSO DE MUDARRA, who is said to have been a Canon of Seville, published in 1546 an interesting book of lute-tabla-

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ture, under the name of *Tres libros de musica en cifras.*

Besides sets of variations on 'Guardame las vacas' and 'Conde Claros', it includes settings of four *romances*, one of them being the well-known ballad of border-warfare against the Moors, beginning:

La mañana de Sant Juan
al tiempo que alboreaba,
gran fiesta hacen los moros
por la Vega de Granada.

which refers to the siege of Antequera in 1410 (see Wolf, *Primavera y Flor*, No. 75; Le Strange, *Spanish Ballads*, No. 108). It was also set to music by Diego Pisador.

Another and finer piece of music is the setting of a *romance* on the death of Absalom (Ex. 7):

Triste estaba el rey David,
triste y con gran pasión,
cuando le vinieron nuevas
de la muerte de Absalon.

The music was reprinted by P. Villalba in

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X Canciones Españolas de los Siglos XV y XVI.

Mudarra's book also contains settings of passages from Virgil and Ovid, sonnets by Petrarch and Sannazzaro, various *villancicos*, including 'Si me llaman a mi', also set by Pisador for the *vihuela* and by Vasquez for four voices; and two in Galician, one of which is printed in Ex. 9. There are also settings of the *Coplas* of Jorge Manrique (Ex. 6); Boscan's *Canción*, 'Claros y frescos rios' (the original version of which, for three voices, is found in the MS. 'Tonos Castellanos' in the Medinaceli Library at Madrid, ascribed to Francisco Guerrero), and the sonnet of Garci-Lasso, 'Por ásperos caminos he llegado'. The purely instrumental music includes pavanes, a galliard and a *fantasía*, and transcriptions from psalms and motets by Josquin des Prés.

In the following year, 1546, a book of music for the *vihuela* was published at Valladolid, named *Silva de Sirenas*, the composer being ENRIQUE ENRIQUEZ DE

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VALDERRABANO. It includes *romances* beginning 'Ya cavalga Calainos', 'Los brazos traigo cansados' (a romance on the story of Beltrán at Roncesvalles); a large number of *villancicos*, e. g. 'La bella mal maridada' (found also in Narvaez and in the *Cancionero musical* edited by Barbieri) and '¿Con qué la lavaré La tez de la mi cara?' a *villancico* for four voices by Vasquez, also transcribed for the lute by Pisador and Fuenllana as well as by Enriquez. There is also a number of transcriptions of motets by church-composers.

DIEGO PISADOR, whose *Libro de musica de vihuela* appeared at Salamanca in 1552, has an interesting setting of the *romance* of Count Arnaldos:

> Quien hubiese tal ventura
> sobre las aguas del mar,
> como hubo el Conde Arnaldos
> la mañana de San Juan....

There is also a *romance* on the treason of

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Vellido Dolfos and the murder of King Sancho:

Guarte, guarte, rey don Sancho

and a *romance* beginning:

A las armas, moriscote,
si las has de voluntad;
los Franceses son entrados,
los que en romería van;
entran por Fuenterrabía,
salen por San Sebastian.

which is also found in the lute-book of Fuenllana, where it is attributed to no less a composer than Morales.

The *villancicos* set by Pisador include the beautiful:

Si la noche hace escura,
y tan corto es el camino,
¿como no venis, amigo?

La media noche es pasada
y el que me pena no viene;
mi desdicha lo detiene.

. . .

which recalls the song sung by Melibea

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waiting for Calisto in the nineteenth act of the *Celestina*:

La media noche es pasada,
y no viene:
sabedme si hay otra amada
que lo detiene.

It will also remind some readers of a fragment of Sappho:

δέδυκε μεν α σελαννα
καὶ Πληίαδες, μέσαι δὲ
νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὥρα,
ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω.

which Walter Headlam translated:

The moon hath sunk, and the Pleiads,
And midnight is gone,
And the hour is passing, passing,
And I lie alone.

There was originally a musical setting in the *Cancionero musical*, but the page has been lost; it is found, however, in the *Villancicos de diversos autores* (1561), discovered by the late Rafael Mitjana in the University Library at Uppsala.

Pisador also arranged for the *vihuela* a madrigal on Garci-Lasso's sonnet, 'Pasando el mar Leandro el animoso'

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(the original of which is to be found in the MS 'Tonos Castellanos' in the Bibl. Medinaceli); and another madrigal, 'Flérida, para mí dulce y sabrosa', the first song of Tirreno in Garci-Lasso's third Eclogue.

Not the least interesting part of Pisador's collection is that devoted to church music. It includes no less than fifteen transcriptions of masses by the celebrated Flemish composer, Josquin des Prés—*porque el musico fue tan bueno que no tiene cosa de desechar*—'for he was so good a composer that he has nothing which can be left out'; and seventeen motets by Morales and others. The value of lute-transcriptions of vocal music of the polyphonic period has already been pointed out (see ch. iv).

The *Orphenica Lyra* of MIGUEL DE FUENLLANA (Sevilla, 1554) is in many ways the most important, and the best known, of the works of the Spanish *vihuelistas*, and more copies of it have been preserved than any other. It gives settings of the *romances* 'De Antequera sale el

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moro', 'A las armas, moriscote', and the famous 'Ay de mi, Alhama', which was translated into English, amongst others, by Byron (Ex. 8). The *villancicos* may all be found in their original form for voices in the part-books of Vasquez, in the Medinaceli Library, Madrid. There is a transcription of the madrigal by Pedro Guerrero, 'Oh, mas dura que marmol a mis quejas', the words being taken from the beginning of the first Eclogue of Garci-Lasso de la Vega. (The original is in the MS. 'Tonos Castellanos', Bibl. Medinaceli.)

Among other vocal works arranged for the *vihuela* are some Italian *Strambotti* (for four and five voices) by the Flemish composers Verdelot, Arcadelt, and others, and a setting of the first two stanzas of Boscan's coplas 'Determinando de dejar unos amores'. (See the paper by Riemann, 'Das Lautenwerk Miguel de Fuenllana' in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, xxvii (1895), vi, 81-91, which gives a transcription of a fine *fantasía* from the *Orphenica Lyra*.)

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Another interesting part of the *Orphenica Lyra* is that devoted to transcriptions of the 'Ensaladas' (comic madrigals) of Flecha, and of motets and other pieces of church music by Morales.

This book, like the preceding, also includes a quantity of purely instrumental music—*fantasías*, *diferencias* (variations), 'Ave Maris Stella' by the author, and Faux-bourdons by Guerrero. A part of the book, including 'Ay de mi, Alhama', is written, not for the *vihuela*, but for the guitar.

ESTEBAN DAZA, whose *Parnaso* was published at Córdoba in 1576, also transcribed a number of the *villancicos* of Vasquez, and, what is more interesting, a good selection of madrigals by composers of the Spanish school: Francisco Guerrero (1528-99); Villalar, Ordoñez (d. 1550); Rodrigo Cevallos (including 'Quan bienaventurado', a passage in the third Eclogue of Garci-Lasso, imitating the *Beatus ille* of Horace); Juan Navarro, a Sevillian composer of some eminence,

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whose 'Psalmi, Hymni et Magnificat' for four, five, and six voices were published in Rome in 1590, and who afterwards went to Mexico, where he died after 1604. Among the anonymous settings is one of the fifth sonnet of Garci-Lasso, 'Escrito está en mi alma vuestro gesto'.

The other composers who wrote for the *vihuela* in the sixteenth century employed a system of tablature differing widely from that of Luis Milan and his followers. With them, the lines drawn across the page do not represent the strings of the instrument, but the parts of the different voices. Thus, a composition in three-part counterpoint is written on three lines, four-part on four lines, and so on. The numbers, again, do not represent the 'frets' on which the fingers had to be put to produce the note wanted, but the notes of the scale. The key is indicated at the beginning of the composition. When this is F, the figure '1' will represent F, the figure '2' G, and so forth. The particular octaves to which the figures referred were

2285·11 F

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distinguished by dots and other signs; thus 1· was an octave higher than 1, 1' an octave higher than 1·. Flats and sharps came after the notes they affected instead of preceding them.

This system was used more particularly for keyed instruments and the harp; the National Library at Madrid contains three MSS. of compositions for the harp written in this manner (M. 811, M. 816, M. 2478), all dating from the seventeenth century. The most important music printed in this is the *Obras de musica para tecla* [keyboard] *arpa y vihuela* of the blind organist ANTONIO DE CABEZON, published at Madrid in 1578, twelve years after his death. Though for the most part confined to sacred works and organ music for use on sundry occasions during divine service, the book contains some fine *diferencias*, e.g. on the 'Canto del Caballero'.

Que de noche le mataron
al caballero,
la gala de Medina,
la flor de Olmedo.

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Sombras le avisaron
que no saliese,
y le aconsejaron
que no se fuese
el caballero,
la gala de Medina,
la flor de Olmedo.

This was the germ of Lope de Vega's play *El Caballero de Olmedo.* Other sets of *diferencias* in Cabezon include the *villancico* 'Si te enoje, Isabel', and what seems like part of a *romance*:

Pues a mi desconsolado
tantos males me rodean.

There are also *diferencias* on the 'Gallarda Milanesa' and other dance tunes.

The complete works of Antonio de Cabezon were published by Pedrell in two of the volumes of his *Hispaniae Scholae Musica Sacra.*

The one tablature-book remaining, the *Libro de Cifra nueva* of LUIS VENEGAS DE HENESTROSA, gives transcriptions of the *romance* 'Mira Nero de Tarpeya' sung to

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Calisto in the first act of the *Celestina*, and also of 'Ay de mí, Alhama'. There are *diferencias* on 'Conde Claros' and 'Guardame las vacas', and on a number of Spanish *Canciones* and French *chansons*. Church music is represented by compositions by 'Antonio' (de Cabezon), Vila, and Soto; and transcriptions from Josquin des Prés, Jacquet, Crecquillon, and Verdelot, and a hymn ('Sacris solemnis') of Morales.

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VII

EL CORTESANO

THE brilliant superficiality of the court of Valencia, as it has been sketched in an earlier chapter, may have repelled some modern readers more attracted by the heroic ages exemplified by the Poem of the Cid with its great lords and its barbaric theory of kingship, or, again, by the Icelandic Sagas with their rough civilization of peasant proprietors. Yet a period with a veneer of courtly insincerity, like that of Valencia in the time of Luis Milan, seems to be a necessary stage, through which town-life must pass before it can reach a condition approaching anything which thoughtful men and women would consider a true civilization.

The ideal and the inspiration of Luis Milan was, as has been said, the perfect courtier of Baldassare Castiglione; and

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no one could say that that ideal was one of insincerity or pretence. 'Il Cortegiano', as he is presented to us in that four evenings' discussion in the apartments of the Duchess of Urbino, is the highest type which the Renaissance made possible, a type which is still the ideal and the aspiration of most civilized communities—a scholar and a gentleman.

Luis Milan had no thought of writing another *Cortegiano*, or of setting up another ideal in its place. Castiglione had been well known in Spain; he was Minister for the Holy See in times of great danger and difficulty, and he died one bitter March day at Toledo whilst in the exercise of his office. The story of how *Il Cortegiano* came to be translated into Spanish is well known—how Garci-Lasso de la Vega sent it from Italy to his friend Boscan, and how Boscan turned it into a piece of Castilian prose, which has remained the most memorable translation ever made in the Castilian tongue.

Milan's intention was not to set up

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a rival *Cortegiano*, but to apply the principles of Castiglione to the conditions of Valencia; and years after, when the Vicereine and the Duke of Calabria and their court were no more, he wished to leave a record of what that life had been. He explains in the *Epistola proemial* how he came to undertake the book. After recalling the self-sacrifice of Quintus Curtius Rufus—the type of the perfect courtier—he proceeds:

Este cauallero armado Cortesano q̄ por presente doy: hize de la manera q̄ dire. Hallandome con ciertas damas de Valencia: que tenian entre manos el Cortesano del Conde Balthasar Castillon: Dixeron q̄ me parescia del.

Yo dixe:

Mas querria ser vos, conde,
que no don Luys Milan.
Por estar en essas manos,
donde yo querria star.

Respondieron las damas: Pues hazed vos vn otro: para q̄ hallegueys a veros en las manos que tanto os hã dado de mano.

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Proue hazelle y a hallegado a tãto: q̃ no le han dado de mano: sino la mano para leuãtalle.

He wishes us to understand, in fact, that the book was begun at the command of some ladies who were turning over the pages of Boscan's translation of Castiglione. It would spoil the compliment to translate it.

He goes on seriously to explain the objects of the book. It is to be, amongst other things, a manual of conversation; an aid to speaking simply and unaffectedly and yet to being never at a loss for the right word. He will give examples of polite intercourse to explain what it is to be witty, and what forms of wit will 'do' in the palace—*para saber burlar a modo de palacio.* He will represent the Court of the Duke of Calabria and Queen Germaine, with all the distinguished men and women of the time, making them use their own Valencian speech as they spoke it.

The book begins with an account of a hunting expedition. The Queen and the

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Duke are in crimson velvet; Gilot, the jester, is clad in green, with a monkey before him on the saddle.

The guests arrive, each with a motto, more or less appropriate to the occasion; they set out, with the jester talking broad Valencian and the company chattering about their neighbours, and especially about Juan Fernandez de Heredia (author of the *Colloquio* mentioned in the first chapter), whose married life is hit off in the phrase a *tortilla de celos*, an omelette of jealousy.

The Duke reminds them that they are out hunting, with the suggestion that they should pay more attention to the business in hand. The sport was, amongst other things, pig-sticking; presently the Duke manages to kill, and presents the head to the Queen with an elaborate compliment, to which, whether she follows it or not, she replies, nevertheless, *Je vous entend bien*. They then leave the boar and go after stag; and the stag, when run to earth, is brought back with the Duke's

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singers leading the way with a parody of 'Like as the hart desireth the water brooks':

Sicut cervus ad fontes aquarum,
viene el cieruo del marido
que su Muger ha herido.

'That is very true,' begins Doña Castellana, and is going on volubly to explain the delight with which a husband returns to his wife when the Duke cuts her short; 'We will discuss that after dinner,' he says.

It is interesting to hear that the Duke's singers were in the field, and interesting, too, to hear the jester describe the conversation with a musical simile. 'The Queen [he says] has begun the Cantus, to enchant us,' others have the contralto and tenor, and a certain Doña Hieronyma is double bass. The passage may be quoted as a specimen of his dialect:

Dixo Gilot: *Señora doña Francisca, Totes les celoses son cõ a cigales, que en cantar vna responen molges. La Reyna ha*

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comẽçat lo cant, que de cels es vn encant. Y la senyora dona Mencia fa lo contralt, que son marit ne sta malalt, y vossa merce es vn tenor sospitos: q̄ pijor es que la tos. Y la senyora dona Hieronyma lo contrabaix: puix son marit va tos temps baix en amors (fol. 17 *recto*).

At noon they dine. The Canon, El Reverendo Canónigo Ester, objecting to something the jester has said, attempts to give him a box on the ear, but unfortunately hits a page instead. In revenge the pages let out two hungry falcons on the Canon, who was standing bareheaded before the Duke: the birds set their claws in his bald head, and the poor man is only rescued with difficulty and led away half dead. It is to be hoped that this was not an example of *el modo de burlar en palacio* as approved by Luis Milan.

After dinner the Duke begins to expound the rules of conduct of the perfect courtier. He must know when to speak and when to be silent. He must only speak about

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what he understands. Juan Fernandez breaks in with a digression: *A buen proposito* . . . he begins; but the conversation is rescued, and eventually Luis Milan provides some sort of summing up. The perfect courtier must be the father of truth, the son of fashion, the brother of good breeding, the kinsman of gravity, the defender of law, the friend of cleanliness, and the enemy of grief.

It is a long and frivolous journey from the grave Platonic discussions at the Court of Urbino, but the book is not all in this strain. Besides the accounts of pageants and dramatic representations, to be described later, the conversation has qualities which are not found in the work of Castiglione. One of these is its naturalness; its very inanity is a sign that it is a transcript of what those men and women actually said; and another sign is its coarseness, which, though not invariable, is always surprising. Yet another quality of the conversation is the use of proverbs and *refranes*, and this alone is enough to

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tell us that we are in Spain. These artificial courtiers are not really so far removed from the people outside their own circle after all. Many of them speak the local dialect; all of them quote popular sayings and snatches of song heard in the street. The *Cortesano* is a valuable repository of *refranes*, and also of popular *villancicos*, sometimes 'glossed' by a poet, at others merely quoted in the course of conversation.

Don Berenguer, wishing to describe the happiness of his married life, says that he goes about the house singing:

Tus ojos, Leonor,
mis enemigos son

while his wife answers:

Quitad el caballero
los ojos de mí,
no mireis ansí.

Another recites a gloss on the *villancico*:

Las tristes lagrimas mias
en piedras hazen senal,
y en vos nunca, por mi mal

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which was afterwards set to music for the *vihuela* by Enriquez de Valderrabano.

Another *cantar* quoted is:

Tres monteros
matan el osso,
mõteros son
del Rey don Alfonso.

Doña Hieronyma, whose voice (it will be remembered) was compared by the jester to the sound of a double bass, has this *refran*:

Riñen las comadres
y dizen las verdades.

We can hear her saying it.

Another:

Romerico, tu que vienes
de donde serrana está,
di, como d'amor te va

is a recollection of a *villancico* by Juan del Enzina, the words and music of which are preserved in the *Cancionero musical de los*

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siglos XV y XVI, edited by Barbieri. The same may be said of:

Enemiga le soy, madre,
aquel cauallero yo,
mal enemiga le so

Two musical settings of this are given in the *Cancionero*, one by Juan del Enzina and the other by Juan de Espinosa, the melody (though not the other parts) being the same in each case.

The conversation frequently turns to the subject of music.

There is Don Diego Ladron, for instance, who wants to hear the *romance* of 'Durandarte', which Milan himself had set to music. 'If' (he says) 'you would like to play it and sing it, I have a good *vihuela* at home, and ladies who will listen to you; for they have come to call on my wife.'

Don Luis Milan answered: 'Señor Don Diego, I shall be content. If it does not annoy you, when this *romance* is finished I will sing another. *Y podra ser q̄ os sañe del mal Frāces; q̄ mostrays tener en la*

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affection Francesa, q̄ traeys como a gorra la cabeça.'

To this Don Diego replied: 'I will not answer the indelicacies of your tongue, so that I may the more quickly hear the playing of your hands. I will go and present them to the ladies who have called, for I am sure that I shall give them great pleasure by doing so.'

Don Francisco said, 'You are no musician; if it were by Don Luis Milan, I would sing it myself for Don Diego. *El diablo trae a su casa con que llore.* Your reward should be that the musician should become the suitor, as happened to a good gentleman in Valencia called Diaz. A great friend brought him to play to a lady whom he was courting, and he fell in love with her. The next day he found him riding up and down the street in which she lived. "What," he cried, "last night a musician and to-day a suitor? You shall never play for me again." And Diaz answered: "*No siam mes amichs.*"' (fol. 54.)

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Every one wanted Luis Milan to sing. And, many years after, when he came to write these reminiscences, he quoted (and perhaps it was not altogether vanity):

Nunca fuera cauallero
de damas tan bien servido.

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VIII

DRAMATIC REPRESENTATIONS

Luis Milan cannot hold our attention as with the lofty idealism of a Baldassare Castiglione. He can only show us how the little court at Valencia behaved in the days of the Duke of Calabria, and how it amused itself. That some of its diversions were trivial and others barbarous we have seen; but we have seen, too, that there was beneath it all a fund of common humanity, an attitude to life and an outlook upon it which in many ways was extremely Spanish, as is shown by the love of *romances* and popular poetry and the readiness with which a *refrán* was always forthcoming to cap a story or to clinch an argument.

Luis Milan, however, had other activities. The pageants and dramatic representations described and (as it seems) designed

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by him deserve more than a passing notice. They belong to the years before 1538, when Germaine de Foix died, although the account of them was not published until twenty-five years afterwards.

El Cortesano is not only a book of polite conversation. It includes the complete text of a farce acted before the Vicereine and the Duke, the subject being the Knights of Malta. This in itself is an indication of the date of the performance, for Malta was given to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in 1530, as a recompense for the loss of Rhodes to the Turk.

The *Farsa de las galeras de la religion de sanct Ioan* begins with the entry of a captain of the Order, followed by seven other captains, with Gilot the jester and another of his profession called Joan de Sevilla. The lines given to the captains are written; the jesters are left to 'gag' (as in the comedy of Masks). They appear under their own names; the only indication of what they say is given by the direction *Dizen que* . . . and the drift of their

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remarks in indirect statement. After a dialogue in this fashion between the eight captains and the jesters there enter eight Turks and eight Greek ladies whom they have carried off. The ladies are recovered from the infidels in eight single combats; the Turks bear no malice and join in a general dance. At length all turn to the Duke, in whose honour they have come to play, and inform him that they are all going back to Malta (fol. 73 to fol. 87).

This performance, as Ernest Mérimée pointed out, has all the qualities of a ballet. The warlike subject gives occasion for a display of sumptuous uniforms and dresses; while the three equal groups (which always enter and leave the stage as one man) provide the material for a brilliant performance of formal dancing. Moreover, the characters speak and sing (for it was a representation with music), in strict symmetry and in stanzas of exactly equal length, the only moment of real dialogue being when the chief captain sends out coastguards to watch for the arrival

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of the galleys, and the coastguards are, needless to say, the two jesters.

Luis Milan has given an interesting account of the May-day festival (Jornada Sexta, fol. 169, *recto* ff.), frankly imitated from the Italian *maggi*, even to some of the words.

'Then they went down into the garden and found a scene arranged in the manner which you shall hear.

'There was a firmament of painted canvas, so realistically executed that it did not seem to be the result of art. In this was set a glass sun, on which the rays of the actual sun shone, making it reflect the light as if it were the real one. (Stars also were not lacking, which by some subtle effect of art shone by night.) Beneath the canvas sky was a grove, with alleys made by canes covered with myrtle, and between them square open spaces made in the same way.

'In the midst of this set scene was a round open space bordered by cypresses with seats beneath them. There was a silver

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fountain, with a figure of Cupid standing on a column. The part of Cupid was taken by a beautiful youth. He had no string to his bow, and this was explained by a motto which he showed surrounded by a wreath: *Sin cuerda por no acordar.* At the base of the column was this inscription:

Soy la fuente del desseo
que su desseo alcançarà
quien desta agua beuerà.

In his left hand he held a garland of flowers, and in his right a royal standard, with a gold background, on which were inscribed verses explaining who Cupid was. . . .

'Those who tried their fortune in this adventure had to drink the water, and for any to whom it was not desirable, the fountain ran dry. Before tasting the water each had to say what was his desire.

'While the company was delightedly examining these things, they heard May and his followers approaching with loud

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music and all kinds of instruments. They went to the windows to see them come in. Before them all came the *Confaloner* on a white horse covered with a gold net adorned with many flowers, and clad in the same way, with a green banner, embroidered all over with flowers. He had a garland on his head, and was fair-haired, beardless, and beautiful. Around him came the ducal singers dressed as nymphs, singing:

Bien vẽga el Magio
el Confaloner seluagio

[The well-known song of Politian, in Spanish guise.] With this they made triumphal entry into the garden; and when they came before the Duke and the Queen, the *Confaloner Selvagio* spoke as follows. . . .'

On another occasion there was a masque (*maxcara*) of Greeks and Trojans. The Duke and the jester were waiting, and the jester chattered unceasingly in his picturesque Catalan-Valencian dialect.

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GILOT.

Trompetes y clarins sent, la maxcara deu venir, yo vull anar a la finestra, per veure si venen. . . . Senyor Duch, cert es la maxcara espant posa de veurla. Tots venen armats, y son tan grans, que par que sien gagans.

EL DUQUE.

Calla, Gilot, que mas dizes de lo q̄ piensas ; y estemos atentos, y gozemos de las inuinciones y motes y del combatir que sera cosa de ver.

(Gilot exclaims excitedly that he hears trumpets ; the masque must be coming ; he will go to the window to see if they are coming now. . . . The masque is enough to frighten any one : the maskers are all armed, and are so tall that they look like giants.

'Peace, Gilot,' answers the Duke, 'you talk more than you think. Let us attend, and enjoy the inventions and mottoes, and the fighting which will be worth seeing.')

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There passed with mottoes Hector, Paris, Troilus, Aeneas, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles, Ajax, and others. 'And then, suddenly, they stopped as if enchanted; for Apollo appeared playing upon his lyre music which he had composed to represent the sweet harmony made by the seven firmaments of the planets. . . . Apollo came in with the nymph called Syrinx, who sang as sweetly as he played on his lyre; and their music was of such great sweetness that it made the great battle to cease between the Greeks and Trojans.'

The author's vanity will be forgiven, for it was he, of course, who took the part of Apollo.

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IX

THE ATTITUDE TO MUSIC

LUIS MILAN has not, perhaps, added anything to the conception of the ideal courtier, the well-educated man of the renaissance; and he is not the first to insist on the importance of music and drama in the education of his courtier. Castiglione has a memorable passage on music, which is worth quoting at length, as it states the position commonly held in the time of Luis Milan.

'Methinks, answered Sir Frederick [i. e. Federico Gonzaga], that prick-song [part-singing from notes printed or 'pricked' in a book] is a fair music, so it be done upon the book surely and after a good sort [i. e. sung accurately and in a good style]. But to sing to the lute is much better, because

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all the sweetness consisteth in one alone, and a man is much more heedful and understandeth better the feat manner and the air or vein of it, when the ears are not busied in hearing any more than one voice: and beside every little error is soon perceived, which happeneth not in singing with company, for one beareth out another. But singing to the Lute with the ditty (methinks) is more pleasant than the rest, for it addeth to the words such a grace and strength, that it is a great wonder. Also all instruments with frets are full of harmony, because the tunes [consonances] of them are very perfect, and with ease a man may do many things upon them that fill the mind with the sweetness of music. And the music of a set of Viols doth no less delight a man, for it is very sweet and artificial. A man's breast giveth a great ornament and grace to all these instruments, in the which I will have it sufficient that our courtier have an understanding. Yet the more cunning he is upon them, the better is it for him, with-

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out meddling much with the instruments that Minerva and Alcibiades refused [i. e. wind instruments], because it seemeth they are noisome.

'Now as touching the time and season when these sorts of music are to be practised: I believe at all times when a man is in familiar and loving company, having nothing else to do. But especially they are meet to be practised in the presence of women, because those sights sweeten the minds of the hearers, and make them the more apt to be pierced with the pleasantness of music, and also they quicken the spirits of the very doers. I am well pleased (as I have said) they flee the multitude, and especially of the unnoble. But the seasoning of the whole must be discretion, because in effect it were a matter unpossible to imagine all cases that fall. And if the courtier be a righteous judge of himself, he shall apply himself well enough to the time, and shall discern when the hearers' minds are disposed to give ear and when they are not.' [*II*

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Cortegiano, Bk. II, cap. xiii. Hoby's translation, 1561.]

The *Cortesano* of Luis Milan is one of the numerous descendants of the *Cortegiano* of Baldassare Castiglione. It is less didactic and less serious, but it brings out one or two points, one or two aspects of the perfect courtier, which readers of Castiglione might have overlooked. Above all, he insists on the value of sprightly conversation: the manner in which a thing is said is almost as important as the matter. He is no more coarse than a Restoration dramatist; the men and women of Wycherley and Congreve are the nephews and nieces, or great-nephews and great-nieces, of the characters of Luis Milan. Their attitude to gallantry even is much the same: a refined expression of sentiments which every one admitted and no one disguised. Milan delights in sentimental complications; but he is clever enough to make passion a little ridiculous, and always accompanies the languishing lover with some grotesque

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detail of his surroundings. There is, for instance, the unfortunate man who is bidden to attend his lady in a chicken-house; and there is the other who is obliged to climb into a tree and imitate the hooting of an owl.

Yet what really interested Milan was, as this book has attempted to show, the practice and performance of music as a necessary part of all social intercourse. He would have been interested in another descendant of *Il Cortegiano*, *The Compleat Gentleman* of Henry Peacham, written almost a hundred years afterwards. Music had advanced by that time. The 'new music' had already begun; but it was the still great age of the madrigal, and among composers of madrigals were numbered men of position like the Prince of Venosa and the Landgrave of Hesse.

'I desire no more in you [says Peacham] than to sing your part sure, and at first sight, withall, to play the same upon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to yourself.'

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Milan would have agreed, though even he would have found some of Peacham's singing parts extremely difficult; he would have been interested, too, to hear that among the four musicians of a later time singled out by this latest descendant of Castiglione as most worthy the attention of the Compleat Gentlemen was a countryman of his, Tomas Luis de Victoria. The other names would have meant nothing to him, though they are beginning once more to mean a good deal to us. The first is Byrd, Victoria comes second; the next in order are Orlando di Lasso and Luca Marenzio—all madrigalists, with the exception of Victoria, who yet seemed to have absorbed so much of the best of the madrigal-style, that his motets were popular wherever cultivated people met together to hear music, as they did a hundred years before, in the time of Luis Milan.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

(*a*) TEXTS.

Libro de motes de | damas y caualleros : Intitula|do el juego de mãdar. Cõpues|to por don Luys Milan. Di|rigido a las damas.

Fue impressa la presente obra en la Metropolitana ciudad de Valencia, por Francisco Diaz, romano, en al año de Mil y D. y xxv a xxviij dias del mes de Octubre.

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MUSICAL EXAMPLES

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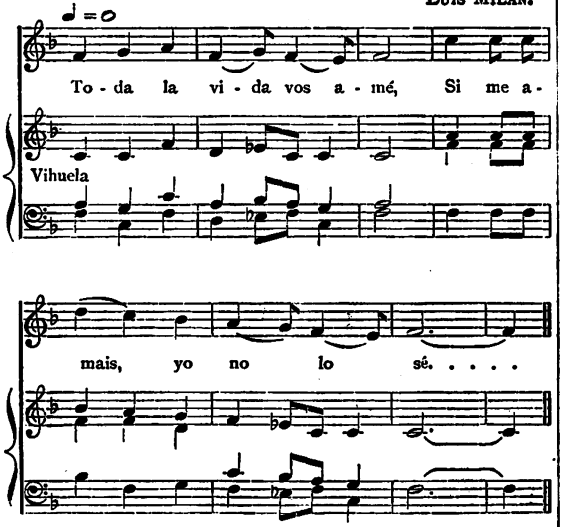
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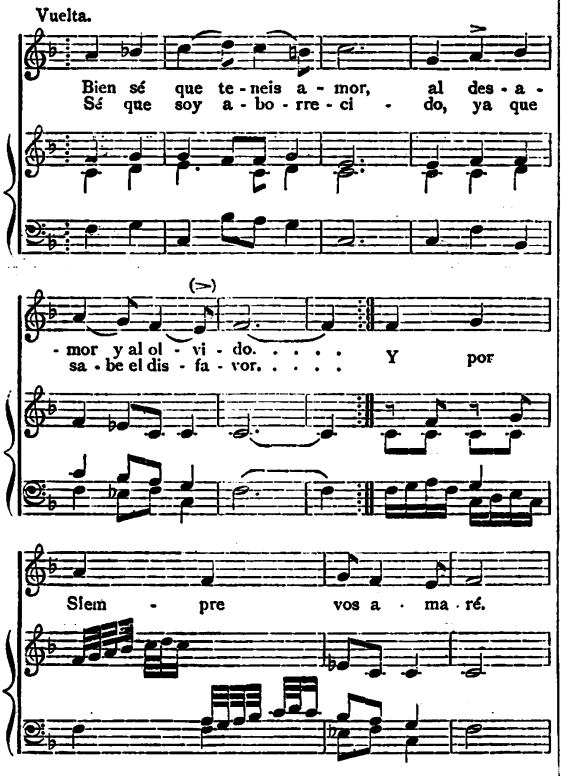
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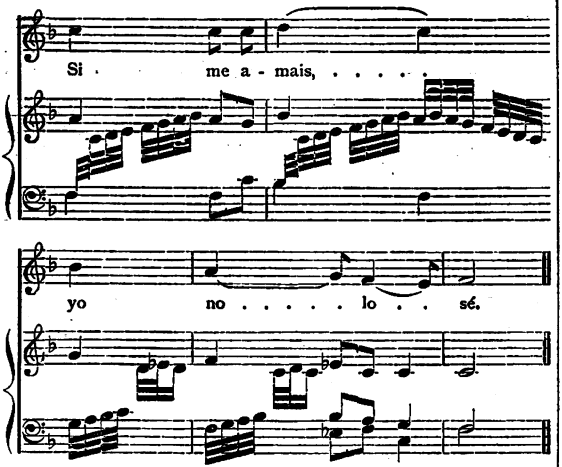
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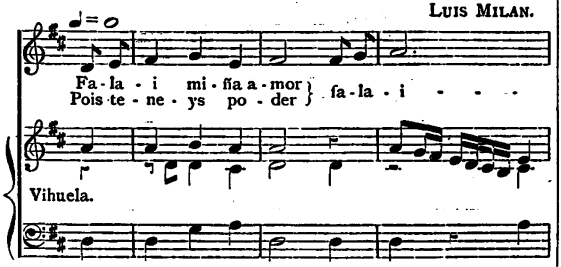
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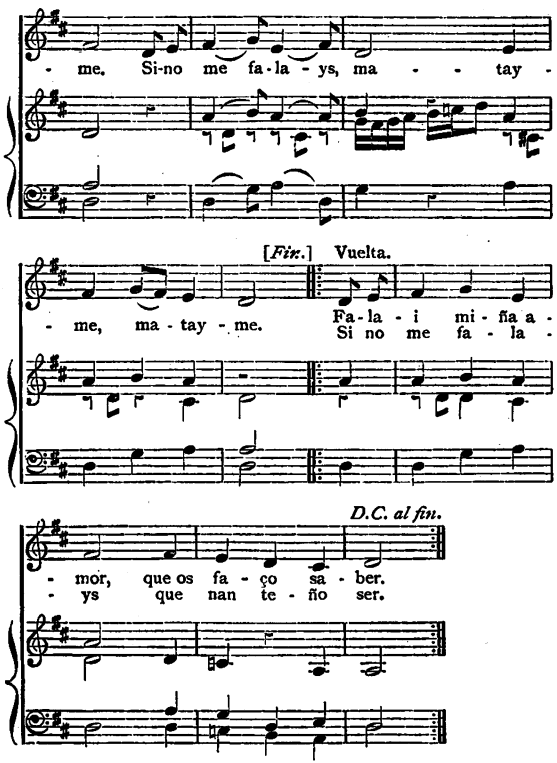
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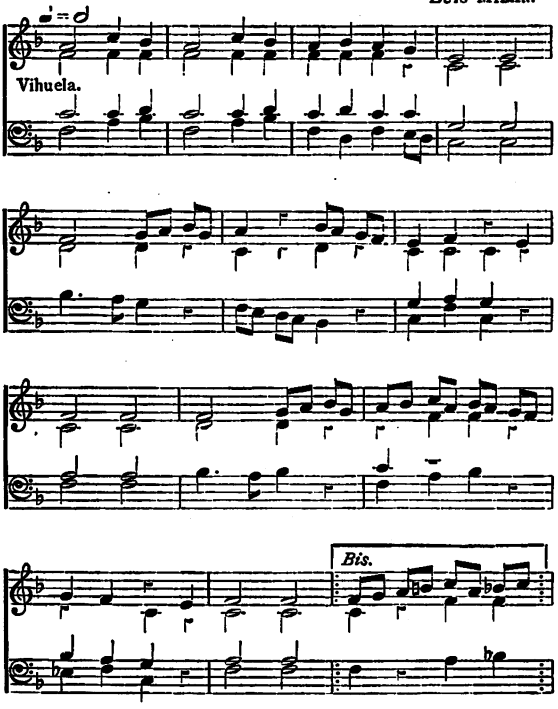
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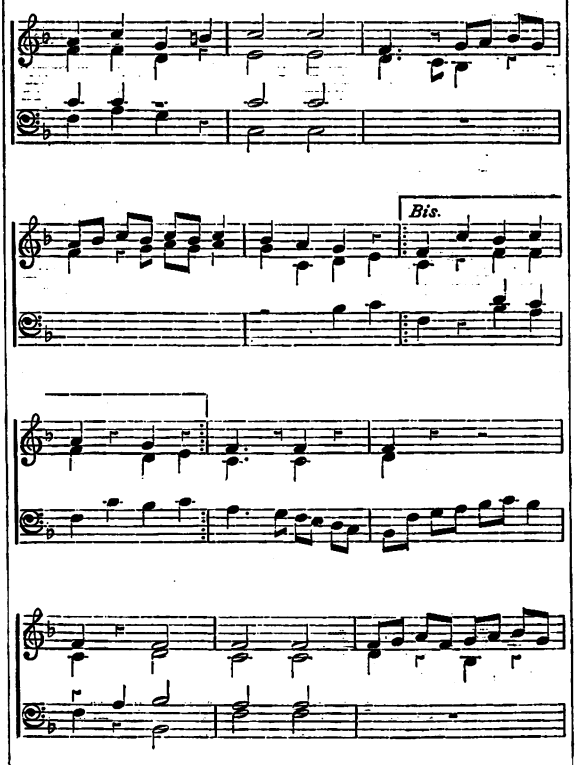
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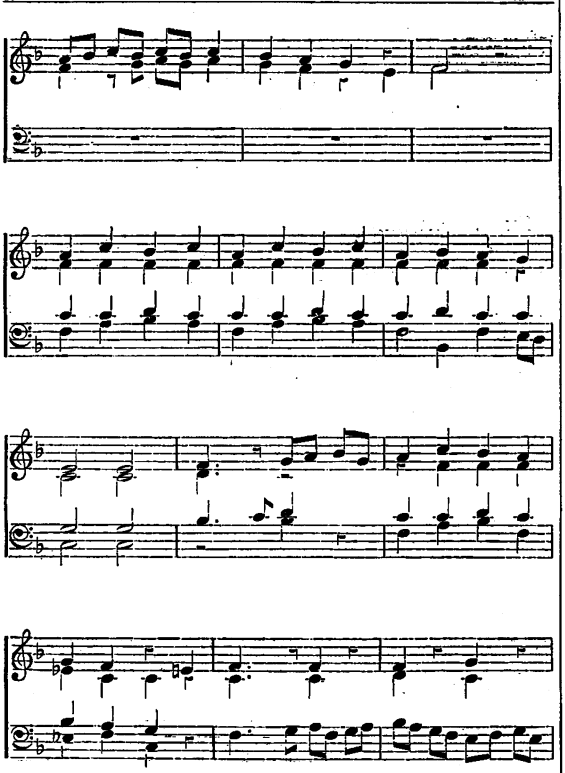
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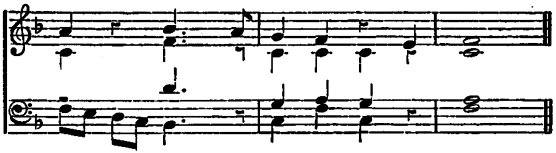
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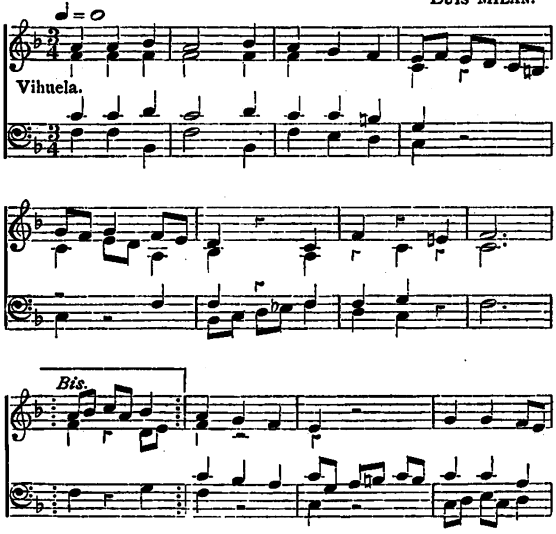
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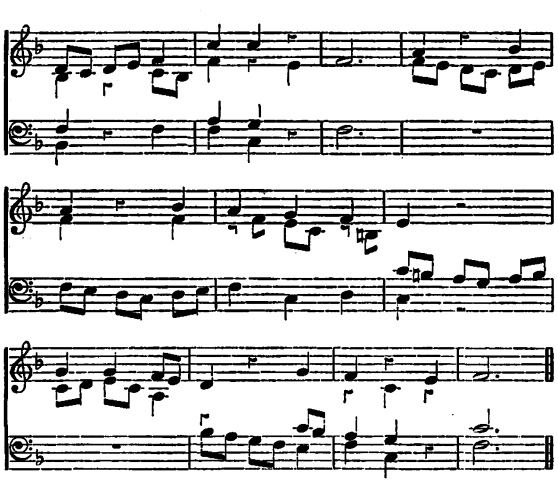
EX. 5. PART OF A ROMANCE.

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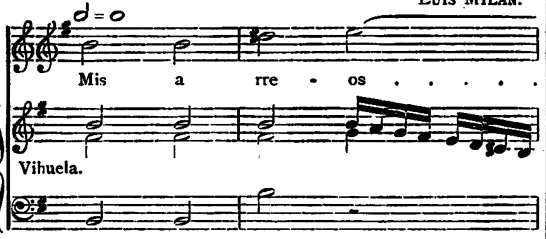
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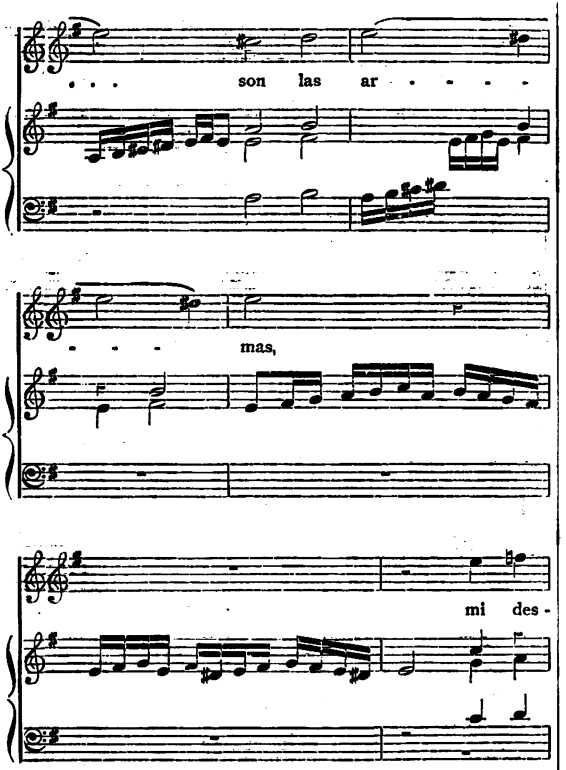
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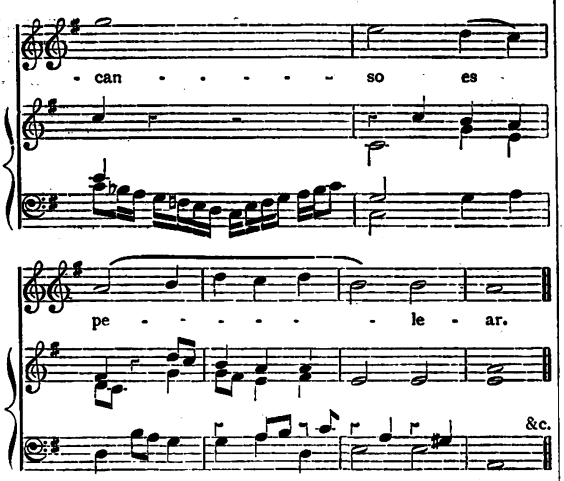
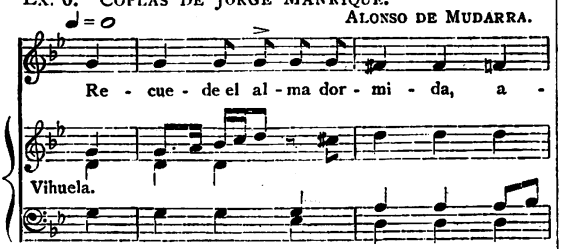

Ex. 6. Coplas de Jorge Manrique.



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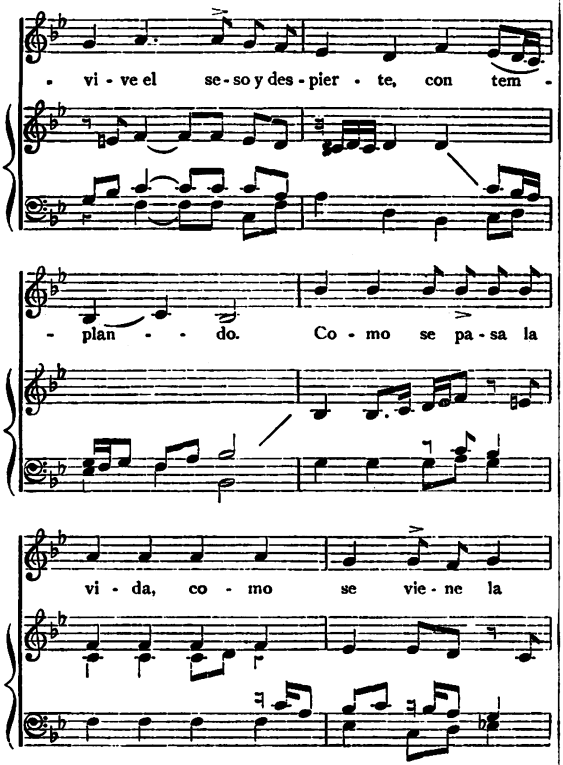
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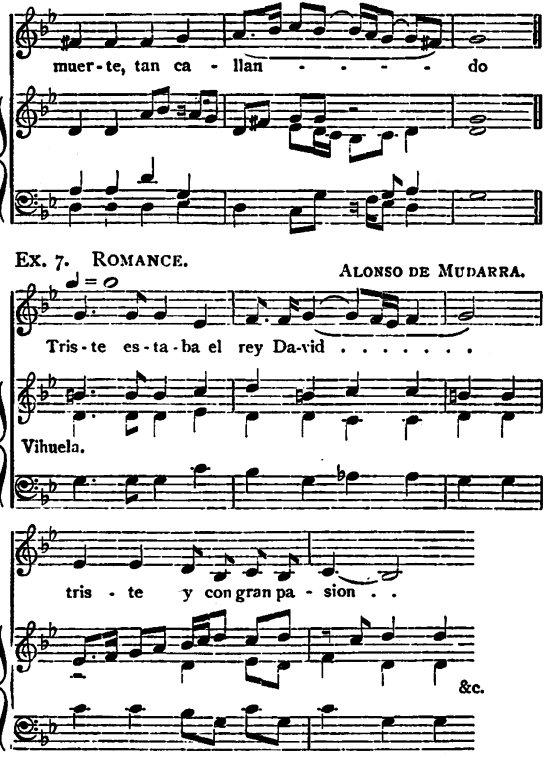

EX. 7. ROMANCE.

ALONSO DE MUDARRA.

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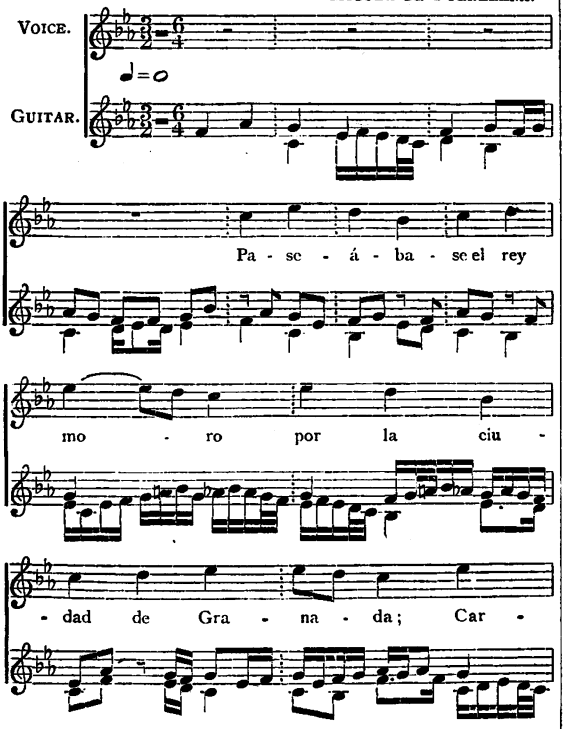
Ex. 8. ROMANCE.

MIGUEL DE FUENLLANA.

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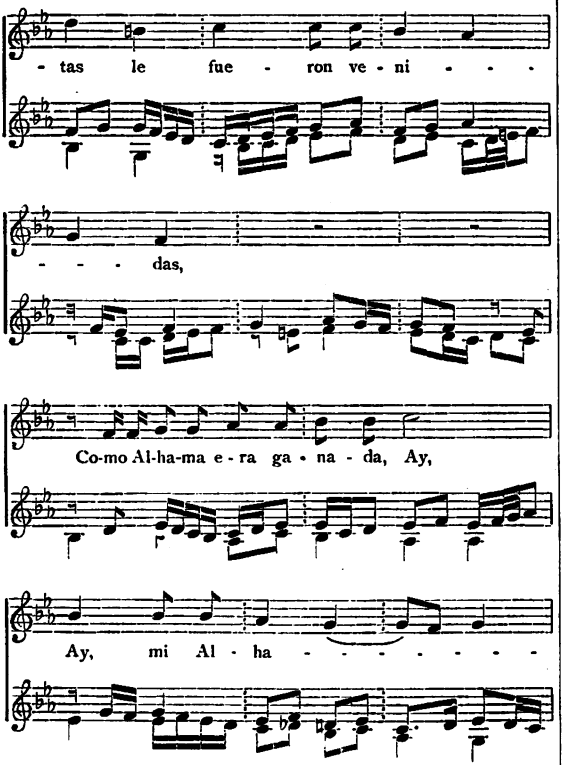
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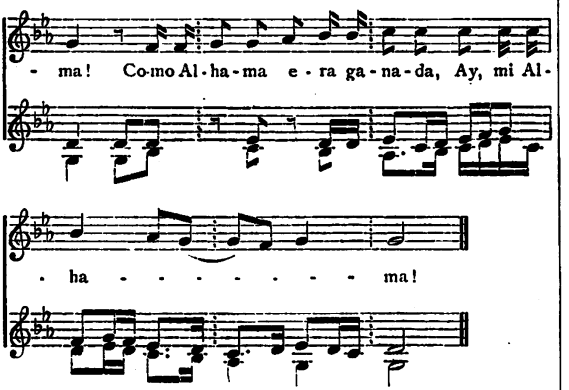
EX. 9. VILLANCICO GALLEGO.

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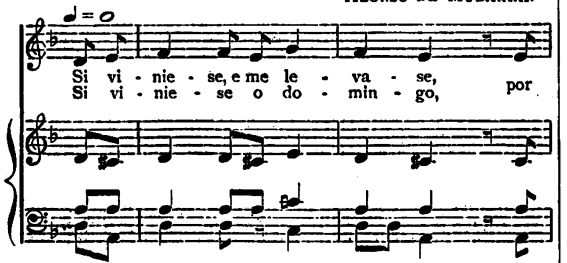
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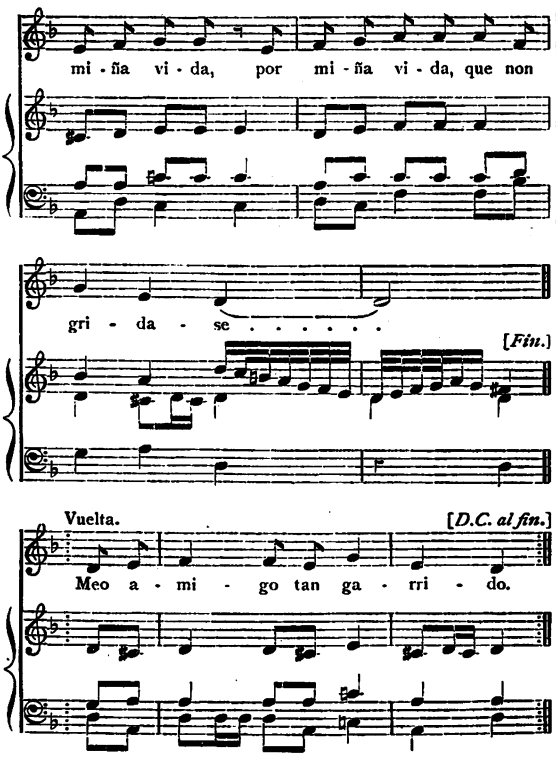
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INDEX

A

PAGES

al 'ūd, ancestor of lute 26
Almayne, danced 9
Amat, Carlos 26
Antequera, romance on siege of . . 57
Arab singing 27
Aragon, kingdom of, 3, 5; Fadrique of, 10; Ferdinand of (v. Ferdinand).
Arcadelt 63
Aston, Hugh 55
Attaignant 25

B

Bagpipes, Galician, Rhythm of . . . 49
Ballet 84
Barbieri, F. A. (v. Cancionero).
Bermudo, J., *Declaración de Instrumentos*, 26; on seven-stringed vihuela, 28; on invention of Spanish guitar, 30.
Borgia (Borja), family of 14
Boscan, Juan, version of *Il Cortegiano*, 11, 70; madrigals by, 58, 63.
Bossinensis, Franciscus 25
Brandenburg, Elector of 3, 10
Byrd, William 95
Byron, Lord 63

Digitized by Google

C

PAGES
Cabezon, Antonio de . . . . . 66 ff.
Calabria, Duke of, imprisoned at Játiva, 10; m. Germaine de Foix, ib.; in *El Cortesano*, 71, 82, 88.
Cancioneiro de Resende 17
Cancionero de burlas 5
Cancionero musical . . . 54, 59, 61, 78
Cante andaluz (*hondo*) 51
Capotasto 26
Castiglione, Baldassare, *Il Cortegiano*, translated by Boscan, 11, 18; his example in Valencia, 11, 70, 71; idealism, 70, 82; death at Toledo, 70; conversation, 76; on music, 90, 95; English translation by Hoby, 93; influence on Luis Milan, 18, 70, 71; on Henry Peacham, 94.
Castilian speech 6, 8
Catalan language, Valencian a dialect of . 6
Cavalcanti, Guido 15
Cejuela (capotasto) 28
Celestina, La, Valencian editions, 5; *romance* sung in, 28, 68; *villancico* sung in, 61.
Cevallos, Rodrigo, Spanish madrigalist . 64
Chaconne, lascivious movements of . . 30
Chansons, transcribed for vihuela . . 68
Chilesotti, Dr. Oscar 28
Chromatic alteration . . . . . 39 ff.
Cid, Poema del 69
Cino da Pistoia 15
Citterne, tablature 35
Clavichord 32
Colloquio . . . [de] las damas en Valencia . 6

Digitized by Google

PAGES

Comedia llamada Thebayda 5
Comedy of Masks 83
Compleat Gentleman, The 94
Cortegiano, Il (v. Castiglione).
Cortesano, El, aim of, 11; printing of, 13; described, 69 ff.; dramatic pieces, 83; a descendant of *Il Cortegiano*, 93.
Counterpoint, lutenists' view of, 31; rules of singing and, 41.
Crecquillon 68
Cuestion de amor 4

D

Dalza 25
Daza, Esteban 64
Declaración de Instrumentos 26
Delphin de Musica 54
Diaz, Francisco 20, 24, 25
Diferencias, 54 ff.; on *Conde Claros*, 55, 57, 68; on *Guárdame las vacas*, 56, 57, 68; on Milanese Galliard, 67.
Don Quixote 52
Dorotea, La 29

E

Eixarch, Violante, mother of Luis Milan 12, 13
Enriquez de Valderrabano, Enrique 55, 58, 59, 78
Ensaladas 63
Enzina, Juan del 5, 78, 79
Espinel, Vicente, supposed inventor of Spanish guitar 29, 30

Digitized by Google

F

PAGES
Fadrique of Aragon, King of Naples, 10; father of Duke of Calabria, ib.
Farsa de las galeras 83
Ferdinand of Aragon, m. Isabella of Castille, 3; m. Germaine de Foix, ib.; dethrones Fadrique of Aragon, 10; death, 3.
Fernandez de Heredia, Juan, *Colloquio*, 10; *Obras*, 14; exchanges verses with Luis Milan, 14; criticizes Milan's verses, 15; villancicos, 48; domestic life, 73; in conversation, 76.
Finé, Oronce 25
Flecha, Matheo 64
Foix, Germaine de, niece of Louis XII, 3; m. Ferdinand of Aragon, ib.; Vicereine of Valencia, 3, 19; m. Elector of Brandenburg, 3; m. Duke of Calabria, 10; in *El Cortesano*, 71; death, 83.
Frets, of lute and guitar, 37; in lute-tablature, 37; instruments with, 91.
Fuenllana, Miguel de, pieces for guitar, 31; for *vihuela*, 59, 60; *Orphenica Lyra*, 62.

G

Gaita gallega, rhythm of 49
Galliard 67
Gerle, Hans 25
Gil Blas 29
Gilot, the jester 73, 83, 88
Granada 8
Guerrero, Francisco, madrigal by, 58; faux-bourdons transcribed for *vihuela*, 64.

Digitized by Google

PAGES

Guerrero, Pedro 63
Guitar, *vihuela* and, 25, 27; number of strings, 29; 'Spanish', 29; Espinel and, 29, 30; Lope de Vega on, 29; tablature, 35; frets, 37; *romances* for, 64.
Guitarra . . . castellana y cathalana . . 26

H

Hesse, Landgrave of, madrigals . . 94
Hita, Archpriest of, instruments . . 27
Hoby, Sir Thomas, translation of *Il Cortegiano* 93

I

Instrumental Style, Beginnings of . . 32
Isabella of Castille 3

J

Jacquet 68
Játiva (Xativa) 10
John of Jerusalem, St. 83
John III, of Portugal 17, 19
Judenkünig 25

L

Lasso, Orlando di 95
Lasso de la Vega, Garci, Poems set to music: *Quan bienaventurado*, 64; *Escrito está en mi alma*, 65; *Flérida, para mi dulce y sabrosa*, 62; *Oh, más dura que marmol*, 63; *Pasando el mar Leandro*, 61; *Por ásperos caminos*, 58; sends *Il Cortegiano* to Boscan, 70.

Digitized by Google

PAGES
Libro de Cifra nueva 67
Libro de Motes 13, 20
Lute, differs from *vihuela*, 25; position of, 26; derivation of, ib.; compared with *vihuela*, 27; instrumental style, 32; transcriptions for, 32 ff.; tablature, 35 ff.; frets, 35; effect on modes, 40; singing to, 91.
Lutenists, Spanish. See *Vihuelistas*.
Lyra-viol 35

M

Madrigals, Spanish, transcribed for *vihuela*, 39, 58, 61, 64 (v. Lasso de la Vega, Garci).
Maestro, El, 11; printed, 13, 54; dedication, 17; description, 23 ff.; intention, 42; contents, 45; solo songs, 47; *villancicos*, ib.; *romances*, 50.
Mah Jongg 21
Malta, Knights of 83
Manrique, Jorge 58
March, Auzías 14
Marenzio, Luca 95
Masque of Greeks and Trojans 87
May-Day Festival 85
Medinaceli Library, Madrid . . 58, 62, 63
Mérimée, Ernest 84
Mesura (Proportion) 43
Milan, Juan, uncle (?) of Luis . . . 12, 13
Milan, Luis, achievement, 2; friend of Fernandez de Heredia, 10, 15; example of Castiglione, 11, 69; Life, 12–19; exchange of verses, 14; Gil Polo and, ib.; John III of Portugal, 17, 19; supposed visit to

Digitized by Google

PAGES

Portugal, 17; to Italy, 18; musical education, 18; performer on the *vihuela*, 19; instrument preferred, 25 ff.; counterpoint, 31; style, 32, 52; tablature, 35; technique, 42; tuning, 43; *fantasias*, 44; pavanes, 45; vocal music, 45 ff.; form, 49; expression, 51; a court-musician, 53; conversation, 71 ff.; dramatic representations, 82 ff.; appears as Apollo, 89; attitude to music, 90 ff.

Milan, Luis del, father of Luis Milan . . 12, 13
Mitjana, Rafael 61
Modes, effect of lute-music on . . . 40
Moors, end of war with 3
Morales, Cristóbal; *romance* set to music, 60; church-music transcribed for *vihuela*, 64, 68.
Morphy, Conde de 46, 99
Mudarra, Alonso de 56, 59
My Lady Carey's Dompe 55

N

Narvaez, Luis de 54, 59
Navarro, Juan 64
Neusidler 25
Notation 35

O

Ordoñez, Diego 64
Orphenica Lyra 31, 62
Ovid 58

P

Parallelistic stanzas 49
Parnaso, El 64
Parry, Sir Hubert 34

Digitized by Google

PAGES

Peacham, Henry 94
Pedrell, Felipe 67
Petrarch 58
Petrucci, Ottaviano 25
Pirates 4
Pisador, Diego . . . 55, 57, 58, 59, 61
Plague 4
Portugal, Luis Milan and, 17; 'a Sea of Music', 18.
Prés, Josquin des 58, 68
Prick-song 90
Printers of music: Attaignant, 25; Diaz, 20, 24, 25.
Proportion 43

Q

Quixote, Don 52

R

Redobles 51
Refranes 76, 82
Rhodes, Siege of 83
Roda, Cecilio de 55
Roig, Jaime 14
Romances (and fragments):
A las armas, moriscote . . 60, 63
Ay de mi Alhama . . . 31, 63, 68
Conde Claros 55, 57, 68
De Antequera sale el Moro . . 62
Durandarte, Durandarte . . 50, 54, 79
Guarte, guarte, Rey don Sancho . 60
La bella malmaridada . . . 59
La mañana de Sant Juan . . . 57
Los brazos traigo cansados . . . 59

Digitized by Google

Romances (*continued*). PAGES
Más querria ser vos, conde . . 71
Mira Nero de Tarpeya . . 28, 67
Mis arreos son las armas . . . 51
Nunca fuera caballero . . . 81
Pues a mi desconsolado . . . 67
Quien hubiese tal ventura . . . 59
Triste estaba el Rey David . . . 57
Ya cavalga Calaínos 59
Ya se asienta el Rey Ramiro . . 54

S

Sannazzaro 58
Schlick 25
Scordature 36
Silva de Sirenas 58
Soto, P. Andrés de 68
Spinaccino 25
Strambotti 63

T

Tablature: lute and vihuela, 35 ff.; Spanish, 37; accuracy as notation, 38; keyed instruments and harp, 65; in modern music, 36.
Torner, E. M. 56
Trastes. *See* Frets.

U

Uppsala University Library . . . 61
Urbino 2, 76

V

Valencia: conditions of life at, 1-3, 71, 82; plague, 4; preacher, ib.; court, 10, 69; Archivo General, 12; geniuses of, 14; par-

Digitized by Google

PAGES
lour games, 20; music printed at, 24; hunting at, 73; conversation and music, 79; dramatic representations, 82.
Valencian dialect: a form of Catalan, 6; examples, 7, 74, 88.
Variations. See *Diferencias*.
Vasquez, Juan, *villancicos* for voices, 58, 59, 63, 64.
Vaughan-Williams, R., on notation . . 35
Vega Carpio, Lope de, on invention of Spanish guitar, 29; *El Caballero de Olmedo*, 67.
Venegas de Henestrosa, Luis . . . 67
Venice, Lute-music printed at . . . 25
Venosa, Prince of 94
Verdelot 63, 68
Vicente, Gil 17
Victoria, Tomás Luis de 95
Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregon . 29
Vihuela: for dance-music, 8: Luis Milan a performer on, 19; description, 25; in poems of Archpriest of Hita, 27; tuning, 26 ff., 43; instrumental style, 32; transcription for, 32, 39, 58, 62; tablature, 35 ff.; frets, 37; method of accompaniment on, 46.
Vihuela de Flandes 26
Vihuelistas (Spanish Lutenists): Daza, 64; Enriquez, 55, 58, 59, 78; Fuenllana, 59, 60, 62; Milan, *passim*; Mudarra, 56, 59; Narvaez, 54, 59; Pisador, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61; Venegas, 55, 67.
Vila 68
Villalar 64
Villancicos: form, 47.
Spanish:
Aquel Caballero, madre . . . 47
Con qué la lavaré 59

Digitized by Google

Villancicos: Spanish (*continued*) PAGES
Enemiga le soy, madre . . . 79
Guárdame las Vacas . . . 56, 57, 68
La media noche es pasada . . . 61
Las tristes lágrimas mías . . . 77
Que de noche le mataron al caballero . 66
Quitad, el caballero, los ojos de mí . 77
Romerico, tu que vienes . . . 78
Si la noche hace escura . . . 60
Si me llaman a mí 58
Si te enoje, Isabel 67
Sospira una señora 48
Tres monteros matan el oso . . 78
Tus ojos, Leonor 77
Portuguese:
Falai miña amor, falaime . . . 49
Levayme, amor, d'aquesta terra . . 48
Villancicos de diversos autores . . . 61
Viols, to replace voices, 32; music of a set of, 91.
Virgil 58
Virginals 32
Vives, Luis 14
Vuelta 47, 50

W

Wind instruments, to replace voices, 32; 'noisome', 92.

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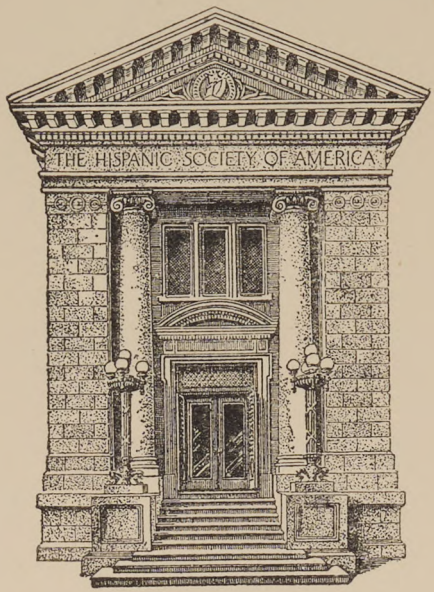

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